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THE CANADIAN FORUM

Twenty-Fifth Year of Issue

October, 1945

Reconversion and Employment

EDITORIAL



Community Organization

MARCUS ADENEY



The Problem of British Socialism

E. A. BEDER



The CCF Should Get Wise
to Itself

R. E. K. PEMBERTON

A Liberal Education
(Part II)

NORTHROP FRYE

Vol. XXV, No. 297

Toronto, Ontario, October, 1945

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O CANADA

Let those Canadians who yearn for the Socialist way of life go to England, where they will be divinely happy. And let those English people who believe in capitalism come to Canada, where they will find innumerable opportunities to realize a profit on their money and their abilities.
(The Calgary Herald)

Costs in the funeral business vary the same as in any other business. With three beautiful Chapels, we receive more calls than any other funeral director in Toronto. This preference has made one thing absolutely certain—that you can be sure to receive the best possible value for your money. . . . Before you obligate yourself elsewhere—compare McDougall & Brown values. . . . A wide range of economical prices—\$100, \$145, \$195, \$240, \$285, \$360, \$450, \$560, \$750, or higher.
(Advertisement, Globe & Mail)

How did your husband make his money? Newest dingle-dangle for bracelets is a big gold-plated coin, to which you attach a small jeweled emblem, descriptive of the way in which the family fortune was made.
(Ottawa Citizen)

Ald. Mozart O'Toole, representative of Toronto's Hypothetical Ward 10, spent the entire summer touring the Dominion as this city's Ambassador of Good Will. . . . In Winnipeg, Ald. O'Toole delivered a speech in which he said that Ontario was the milch cow of the Dominion and reminded the citizens of Manitoba how fortunate they were to be permitted into Confederation.
(Globe & Mail)

The loveliest haircolors aren't always made in heaven. Haircolor that commands a second look, that shimmers with soft, lovely lights, more often than you know is man-made! . . . One of Roux's 22 shades will blend perfectly with your own . . . completely conceal every trace of visible gray. What finer tribute to a lovely woman than such natural-looking color? What happier complement to your loveliest clothes, your entire appearance?
(Advertisement, Toronto Star)

Prof. Harold (I-Am-the-Light) Laski has predicted that "the age of capitalism is drawing to a close." If capitalism has knowledge of the professor's talent as a seer it will hesitate before working itself into the screaming "meemies" over its certified end. Prof. Laski was the man who wrote off Hitler and National Socialism as a spent force following their defeat in the German elections of July, 1932. Together they managed quite an eruption before their age drew to its close.
(Editorial, Globe & Mail)

Prime Minister King thanked the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, headed by Percy Bengough, for coming to see the government. He asked the labor leaders not to do anything that would cause trouble, and that when any situation developed which labor leaders felt they could not control, the best thing to do was to turn to the government for help.
(Ottawa Citizen)

While rejoicing will be general over the Japanese surrender, yet there will be some regrets. Take, for instance, the men who volunteered for Pacific duty and who were not only willing but eager to see action on the Far Eastern fronts and settle yet another score with these second arch enemies of democracy. Already many of these men have expressed regret that they could not have been "in at the kill." Typical reaction was the spontaneous "Well, I'll be damned" from Maj.-Gen. Hoffmeister, Canadian commander for the Pacific. But when the news was confirmed he quickly added the important covering observation: "Thank God."
(Regina Leader Post)

The speaker referred to the existence of the bilingualism in Canada, government proclamations posted up in public buildings are in the two languages, English and French. "It's a wonder they don't add Latin as well," remarked Mr. Worrall. "We must make every effort to see that equality for all exists in Canada. There are agencies and individuals," he said, "who are endeavoring to tear our country apart. We must be united and follow the teachings of Jesus Christ—liberty and justice to all, a united Canada with one public school, one language, one flag—the Union Jack."
(Toronto Evening Telegram)

Mr. John Grierson, head of the National Film Board, has tendered his resignation on the grounds that he could not go as far as he wanted in the production and handling of films dealing with international affairs. . . . People with artistic talents should stay well away from politicians. . . . Let the artist seek his freedom in an atmosphere of freedom.
(The Calgary Herald)

This month's prize of six months' subscription goes to Mrs. Grace Wilks, Macleod, Alta. All contributions should contain original clipping, date and name of publication.

THE CANADIAN FORUM

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United Nations

The first meeting of the Assembly of the new United Nations Organization is to take place in December. This is something accomplished since San Francisco. In China the threatened tug-of-war between Russian and American influences has apparently been headed off by the treaty between the Soviet government and Chiang Kai-shek, though whether this has been brought about by Moscow once again selling out the Chinese communists, as in 1927, is not yet clear. At any rate the prospects for some effective unity in China seem to be better. In Europe the prospects seem to get steadily worse. The allied powers have failed to agree on a treaty with Italy. The British and Americans have managed to make their protests felt in Rumania and Bulgaria, part of the sphere of influence which Russia had appropriated exclusively for herself, and they are standing firm against Yugoslav claims on the Italian boundary, i.e. against Russian claims. But the Soviet government has stolen a march on them by its agreement with Austria, and it is staking out claims for itself in positions dangerously close to the British "life-line" from Gibraltar to Bombay. It has a share in the administration of Tangier; it claims a share in the control of the Dardanelles; it claims shares in the Italian colonies, including apparently the Dodecanese islands and a port on the Red Sea.

What all this comes to is that Russia is staking out claims so far from home that the conception of a security zone along her own national frontiers is being stretched beyond meaning. Of course, exactly the same thing can be said of the other two great powers. Only small powers can pursue a regional policy. The bigger and stronger a state becomes, the more points of danger to itself does it discern all over the world. The idea that world peace can be secured by agreement among three great world powers was never anything but utopian. Under our existing international system world peace is secure only until a new generation has reached military age.

The most dangerous situation of all is that which is developing in the countries of western Europe. With general elections approaching in all of them, the line of division nearly everywhere is becoming one between communists and socialists. The parties of the right are not likely at the moment to count for much. As long as the Churchill government lasted, the mean little monarchies and the financial or landowning oligarchies in every European country could count on support from Britain; and in such circumstances the only party which seemed to offer a chance of accomplishing anything on the left was the communist party. But the advent of British Labor has changed all this. Professor Laski has been going about as an ambassador from Labor to the continental Socialist parties. Social and economic reconstruction, such as is needed in every European community, can be carried out under socialist leadership as well as under orders from Moscow. But this obviously means a struggle between Moscow and London for the dominant influence in every European capital. Economically Europe can only be restored if some form of European unity is established. Unity under German control proved to be intolerable, and it looks now as if neither Britain nor Russia is prepared to allow a unity which will be under the control or leadership of the other.

Anglo-American Trade Relations

Nothing has so clearly revealed the essential solidarity of the British people, in spite of seemingly strong party divisions, as the quick reaction of all their leaders and journals to the American announcement of the ending of Lend-Lease. They must have known this was coming, yet Messrs. Attlee and Churchill sprang forward as one man to express their hurt surprise at this harsh treatment from their American friends. One would almost think that the act had been rehearsed beforehand. As in most other fields, we are about to discover that in its handling of Anglo-American relations the Labor government will be as toughly nationalistic as any Conservative, so-called National, government could have been.

In trade matters both British and Americans are under strong temptations, whatever their noble professions, to act as isolationists. The British produce a strong case to the effect that they cannot afford an interest-bearing loan from the United States to tide them over the next two or three years (are they paying interest on the loan which is presumably being made by Canada?), and they hint either at a further gift of several billions or else at going it alone without help within a closed sterling bloc. When the Americans suggest that the British debt to other countries be scaled down so as to enable them to bear some debt to the United States, the British are not at all receptive to this idea. For they intend to use their debt to such countries as India and Egypt, and to other countries within the sterling bloc, as an instrument to compel these countries to do all their buying from Britain as a method of getting some of the debt paid off. To the ordinary American it is almost impossible to present the British case so that it does not look as if the British were claiming that the world owes them a living and were asking to be supported by America in the style to which they would like to become accustomed. This, in fact, is exactly how one anti-British spokesman in Congress has already put it.

The Americans on their part talk loudly about freely-flowing multi-lateral world trade, but it is clear that such a regime of world trade is impossible for any length of time unless the United States, as the great creditor country, also is willing to become a country with an import instead of an export balance, i.e. to trade under a drastically reduced tariff. The threat which hangs over all international exchange operations is that the United States will continue to insist on selling more goods and services than it is prepared to buy. This process means in a short time a chronic shortage of dollars in the hands of other countries, such as existed in the 1930's, and no Bretton Woods or other scheme of exchange stability can meet this situation. But every American plan for "full employment" at home depends on selling surplus American products in large quantities abroad. There is not the slightest chance of the present American Congress or of the American Business community in its present temper so adjusting their conceptions of economic policy as to relieve this pressure toward selling goods in foreign markets. Loans from the United States to finance these sales only put off the day of reckoning. And under such pressure other countries like Britain are almost driven to insulate themselves. How can the world escape from this vicious circle?

It would be interesting to inquire where Canada stands in this difficult Anglo-American relationship. We also want to

sell to Britain without adjusting our buying habits, and the editorials in our business papers make it clear that our attitude to British protectionism is essentially the same as the American. But as usual our government at Ottawa has managed to cloak its ideas in the deepest secrecy, and as usual the House of Commons fails to obtain any elucidation beyond pious generalities.

The Fate of Japan

We in Canada have apparently no voice in determining policy toward Japan. We are spectators only, and it doesn't matter much that our Canadian representative at the surrender ceremony signed his name on the wrong line. Nothing would be any different if he hadn't signed at all. But Australia, being conscious that her future depends on what kind of a settlement is made in the Pacific, has been complaining that the treatment of Japan is too soft. And there is a growing chorus from the United States to the same effect. Softness or hardness are not really the alternatives that matter most. What American policy so far has accomplished is to leave the present governing classes in complete control of the Japanese community, controlling even the making of Japanese opinion as effectively as they did before surrender. Changes in the American Department of State seem to point to an abandonment of the fixed idea that everything depends on the preservation of the Emperor. But nothing is being done as yet to remove the big business and military elements who may quarrel among themselves as to the division of power but who have been united for two generations in preventing anything like democracy emerging in the country. The revelations that have been made as to General MacArthur's favor toward anti-democratic elements in the Philippines throw some light on what is likely to happen in Japan as long as he is in charge. He will be tough toward a few criminals but he will leave the social and economic set-up as it was. After all, what else could be expected from the hero of the Republican party?

Interesting Testimony

Having exhausted the horrors of atrocities by Nazi sadists, correspondents have been repeating the process with respect to the Japanese. Without wishing to impugn or minimize these well-authenticated instances of individual or collective brutality, one may well fear that they tend to produce an unbalanced picture which may lead to dangerously misleading estimates of the conquered peoples.

For that reason it is interesting to find a Canadian soldier—Sergeant-Major Albert Bilodeau of Richelieu, Que., a permanent member of the Royal Rifles of Canada who fell into the hands of the Japanese at Hong Kong—testifying that the Japanese are not all bad. He told a Canadian Press reporter in Manila that "four years of living among them have made him believe there is an opportunity to educate and make something of the Japanese people."

Bilodeau, who, the interviewer states, "seems to be a more serious type than the average person," was beaten by Japanese prison guards, along with many other Canadian prisoners. Yet he found also among them "kindness, fanatical obedience to the Emperor beyond logic and, among some, evidence of brilliant though impractical minds." He says: "Some of the guards who watched over the prisoners at Sumidagawa camp

at Tokyo and particularly civilian work foremen treated the Canadians with respect and kindness. The attitude of others toward prisoners working in shipyards was the same as if they had been employees." The latter statement may well seem ambiguous; but the evidence on the whole of this "more serious type" of Canadian soldier suggests that the Japanese may not be (as an unbalanced diet of atrocity stories might lead us to conclude) a nation of beasts and sadists. If this is true, it is important that we recognize it; and it is to be hoped that more Canadian prisoners of war of the "more serious type" will have the sense and courage to supplement the testimony of Sergeant-Major Bilodeau on this very crucial question.

Struggle for Power

Elections are coming in three Canadian provinces—British Columbia, Manitoba and Nova Scotia. No change of government is likely in any of them, and inevitably they are overshadowed in the minds of most Canadians by what is happening on the industrial front. The process of reconversion from war to peacetime economy is going to take place in the midst of a struggle for power which threatens to become very bitter. Evidently the motor industry in the United States is going to be the central crucial field on which the issue between management and labor will be fought out. Both sides are advancing to battle at this moment. Both sides have always known that big business would take the first opportunity of economic dislocation to try to smash labor unionism, and the opportunity is now here. In this struggle everything depends on the attitude of public opinion and on the activity or inactivity of the government. American labor has not been skilful in its public relations, and all the polls of opinion have reported for a long time a preponderant anti-labor feeling in the country. Whether the Truman administration will be as favorable to labor as was its Roosevelt predecessor remains to be seen. And American labor is not united within its own ranks. Strong elements in the A.F. of L. hate the C.I.O. more than they do the employers, and John L. Lewis is campaigning against both of them. Is Canadian labor any better united for this crisis? The federal government in Ottawa and the two provincial governments in Toronto and Quebec, in the provinces which matter most, may be placed at once on the anti-labor side. Our guess is that Canadian opinion has not been turned by propaganda against labor to the same extent as American opinion. But the battle in our country is likely to be decided by what happens in the United States.

Woodsworth House

The Ontario Woodsworth Memorial Foundation, which was started at the end of last year, has purchased a large house at 565 Jarvis St., Toronto. Woodsworth House is already being used for a variety of club activities, and it is to embark on a fuller program as a community centre this autumn. One of its rooms is being fitted up as a library in which it is hoped to gather a representative collection of socialist books and of the current Canadian, British and American periodicals which are of interest to socialists. Any reader of *The Canadian Forum* who would like to assist in building up the library and who has suitable books that he might donate to it or who wishes to contribute money for the purchase of books is invited to write to the Librarian, Woodsworth House, 565 Jarvis St., Toronto, Canada.

Get Them Young

The League for Industrial Democracy recently celebrated in a dinner at New York its fortieth anniversary, and it has issued a very interesting pamphlet giving the addresses that were delivered on this occasion. Harry Laidler has been its moving spirit for years, and the dinner fittingly culminated with a presentation to him in honor of his long service. Frank Scott was there from Canada to represent the CCF. What strikes us most in reading the pamphlet, *Forty Years of Education*, is the large number of famous Americans who have taken part in the League's activities during the past forty years and who came into it because they were introduced to the ideas of socialism through its activities in the American universities. The League was founded by Jack London (its first president), Upton Sinclair, and a group of friends in 1905. Morris Hillquit was one of the members of the first executive. In the early years, as it started branch groups in the main colleges, it attracted Walter Lippmann, Lee Simonson, Heywood Broun, Jack Reed, Edna St. Vincent Millay, Bruce Bliven, Paul Douglas, Freda Kirchwey, Ordway Tead, Abraham Epstein, Broadus Mitchell, and a host of others who have since made names for themselves in many fields. Harry Laidler became a member of its central staff in 1910 and has been with it ever since. His recent book, *Social-Economic Movements*, is probably the best source in which the inquiring young student of today can study the development of socialist ideas and movements throughout the world. There is a moral in all this for the CCF, a moral which is reinforced by any study of the activity of the Fabian Society since the 1880's in English universities. If we want to influence the way in which the next generation will think, we need above all to spread our ideas among the university students of today.

A Note of Rejoicing

It is now reported that Captain Jacob Markowitz, listed as missing when Malaya was over-run by the Japanese in 1942, has been attending the sick in a jungle camp in the Far East. For many months it was not known whether he was alive, and then came the bare intimation of his safety, though his whereabouts and circumstances remained unknown. To his relatives and friends in Toronto and elsewhere the latest news has brought rejoicing, and in this the editors and associates of *The Canadian Forum* heartily join. Dr. Markowitz, a distinguished physician and surgeon, relinquished a large Toronto practice to become an army doctor shortly after the outbreak of the war. For a number of years he had included *The Canadian Forum* in the wide literary and cultural interests for which he found time in his busy professional life. Many of our readers will recall his brilliant articles in these columns during the thirties.

When he was first listed as missing, this journal said editorially: "Of one thing all who know 'Marko' will be sure. In whatever circumstances those quick eyes and deft fingers and that understanding and infectious laugh might have been placed, they would be found to the last in serene and tireless ministrations to the suffering of others." These words are now confirmed by a Canadian Press dispatch from Siam, which refers to Captain Markowitz's feats of medicine and surgery as "legendary." It states that two other doctors were trained by him to give blood transfusions and to treat cholera cases, and that prisoners of all nationalities were "full of praise for the miracles wrought by Captain Markowitz. He performed amputations without anaesthetic, using scissors and a hand-

saw, and saved hundreds of lives in Banpong and other camps."

In common with those to whom Dr. Markowitz is known as a particularly fine type of Canadian, we trust that his return to Canada will not be long delayed.

Reconversion and Employment

► ON JUNE 11th the people of Canada decided to give capitalism another chance and elected a Liberal government on promises of full employment at adequate wages. The hollowness of those promises is already becoming clear. "Private enterprise" is all set for a battle royal with labor to reduce the industrial worker's standard of living—and with it of course that of the farmer and the community at large.

We are now witnessing the first skirmishes of that campaign; the main battles are still to come. As soon as the ballots were counted prophecies of "inevitable" unemployment both in Canada and the United States began to appear in the financial pages. Thousands of men and women are now being laid off from our war plants, and the government's only answer to date is to repeat ad nauseam that there are plenty of jobs. Mr. Howe first said a hundred thousand and now he says a million; and at the same time the government is selling war plants into private hands to do with as they please, thus keeping its skirts clean from any interference with business. Private industry is to solve our problems.

These assurances of vast numbers of jobs available are distressingly reminiscent of the phrase "prosperity just around the corner" so popular in the thirties. No doubt there are some jobs; in any case this is the period of seasonal employment, but harvesting and the rest are not jobs in the sense of steady work. Then there is the problem of location: jobs and workers are far apart. Or again they are jobs of totally different skills; a woman worker cannot become a lumberjack. Obviously what is needed here is an ambitious program of training in new skills with maintenance pay, and not only for veterans. Lastly, and not least, the jobs that are available are mostly at very much lower wages. Layoffs are mostly taking place in war industries where the average rate of pay is from \$34 to \$40 a



week; whereas the jobs available in textiles, retail trade and services are at an average of between \$25 and \$30—and many at a good deal less. The idea is obviously to stand by until workers are forced to take jobs at that level, and that is “return to normalcy” in capitalist terms: “somewhat lower wages” or a cut of 20% or more in the standard of living.

It is here that we see the significance of the refusal of the governments themselves to operate war plants for peace purposes. Many could be so converted. This would take a little time, but if the government was prepared to do so it could accept the unions’ demand for layoff or severance pay of \$25 a week during the period of retooling. Government-owned plants in peace production would do much to speed reconversion and to provide the necessary goods; they would also act as a bulwark against a general reduction in wages. That is precisely what private big business does not want—and many government plants were erected under contract that the people’s own equipment would not be used for any but war purposes.

Even without public ownership it would still be possible for the government to count the cost of conversion as war-costs (which it is) and to allow \$25 a week severance pay. But this would only make sense if the government was prepared to unfreeze wages below that level (as it should have done long ago) and to bring low-wage industries up to that level—for you don’t pay a man \$25 a week and then tell him to go and take a job at \$18. You cannot logically adopt even the stop-gap of severance pay if you are not prepared to guarantee jobs at adequate wages, which in turn you cannot do if you let big business rule the roost.

It is important to realize that the government’s actions (not its promises) are quite logical and consistent. Granted that we must rely on monopoly capitalism to do the job of reconversion, it inevitably follows that the government cannot effectively plan employment; it must not retain public ownership except in unremunerative fields which the monopolist wouldn’t touch with a ten foot pole; and from this it follows that our war plants must be sold to big business on its own terms. You must then let the labor market adjust itself, which means work at the lowest wage the capitalist can get away with.

The only concrete measures of the Dominion government to offset this process are unemployment insurance, very low and limited in time, and family allowances. Other social services are awaiting the outcome of the Dominion-provincial conference which has hardly begun. These measures are good; but to rely on them, as well as on savings and gratuities, is like putting down a cushion for a man who is falling off the roof. In any case, mere redistribution of income is not effective when that income is falling. Our economic problems have to be solved at the point of production, and it is at that point that the government refuses to interfere.

As for the so-called “shelf of public works,” it is a confession of failure, for the intention is to carry them out only when the depression is already under way. They may bring some relief then, if they are carried through, which is not so certain for they involve deficit financing at the very time when an economy campaign will sweep the financial pages. In any case they are not in the picture for the immediate problem of reconversion.

For let us be clear about this: the present layoffs and confusion are only the first stage, the first skirmish. The intention now is to snipe at trade unions, provoke the workers to unnecessary strikes and weaken them, for later. The most optimistic monopolist does not really believe that he can smash the unions now. Things will then settle down at a “somewhat” lower standard of living: the exact level

depending upon many factors: amount of business, savings, temper of workers and veterans. There will be some give and take, for this is not the real battle. Reconversion is to be followed by a boom, when goods will be more available, shortages are made up, and labor gradually more plentiful. This may last a while or it may be very short. Then the usual cycle—and the real battle will begin after that.

These three stages: reconversion, boom and depression may get a bit muddled up, but they will be there. And it is only in the last stage that the government intends to throw around its public works as cushions when the whole economy is pitching into unemployment.

It is not a pleasant prospect—but that is what our people voted for. In this tragic situation there is one streak of grotesque comedy which is well expressed by the following true story: Two foremen were coming out of a war plant with their layoff slips. One was CCF and the other L.P.P. The latter was expressing his feelings pithily. Said the CCF’er “I don’t see what you’re grumbling about; you can now begin to enjoy the ten years of capitalistic prosperity that Tim Buck promised you at the last election.”

The CCF Should Get Wise to Itself

R. E. K. Pemberton

[Editorial Note: Since we rather expect that Mr. Pemberton’s article will bring down upon our heads, and/or upon his head, the wrath of some of the faithful, we take this occasion to express the opinion that the appropriate time has arrived, with elections now in the background for a few years, for more public discussion among CCF’ers of the broad questions of what we mean by socialism, of the relation between planning and freedom, of the relation of immediate policies to ultimate aims, of how a mixed economy may be expected to work, of the effect of our peculiar Canadian dominion-provincial set-up on socialist programs, and so on. We invite such discussion from our readers provided that they will carry it on without making it mainly a vehicle for denunciation of the intelligence or the morality of the editors of this journal or of other fellow CCF’ers.]

► WE OF THE CCF badly need to take a trip to the cleaners. But we exhibit, with literally insignificant exceptions, no awareness whatever of this unpleasant but important fact. Important, because if we continue to ignore it the time may soon be here when the cleaners’ best efforts would be futile, when we would be fit only for the rummage sale. If we should allow that to happen we would have only ourselves to thank; and the people of Canada would be the better off for our disappearance.

At the same time the disappearance of the CCF, as it has been and can be, would be a major tragedy for the same people of Canada. In the next few years, if not sooner, it will be needed as never before. Nor is there anything in sight which could replace it. So let’s go to the cleaners! And let’s do it cheerfully, in the consciousness that we shall thereby become better fitted to accomplish our great purpose.

So important for Canada are the essentials of CCF policy that the party must stress to the limit its difference from the other parties. Above all, it must come clean, be honest. And in this is implied the answer to the probable objection

about "washing one's dirty linen in public." Not only is this a very sensible thing to do, if it can add anything to public recognition of one's cleanliness. It is also a sure corrective of smugness, complacency, self-righteousness . . . decay. Most of all, it is the only safe insurance for staying clean. No political party, not even our own, can dispense with that insurance.

In the last three years or so we have been concentrating especially upon attaining power. I fully believe that we desire power as a means to service. But there are dangers, dangers which we have not altogether avoided, in an over-stress upon the need for power. They are all dangers of assimilation to the ways of ordinary parties.

One of them is the temptation to soft-pedal essential principle for fear of estranging some element in the electorate. Another is the desire, the felt "need," to "get" the other fellow. We soft-pedalled essential principle in our shameful silence when Senator Bouchard took the rap for asserting the fundamental democratic right of free speech. We wanted so badly to "get" Mr. Drew that we over-played a subsidiary scene to the extent of spoiling or rather of eliminating the plot of the whole play. And we got our reward. May we learn from it!

Even more regrettable, because less unlikely to be organic, is our normal attitude to adverse criticism. It is not only that we are too prone to self-righteousness: this vice in a movement such as ours could almost be pardoned, were it not politically pernicious. The greater vice, the unpardonable error, is that of regarding and of stigmatizing our critics as mere purveyors of abuse, of misrepresentation, of lies, of whatnot. The obvious example is the Canadian from Kansas City. I am far indeed from denying that Mr. Trestrail has been guilty of multiple misdemeanours, and worse. But I have yet to find, in any CCF production, the faintest hint that there was anything else to the man. I have heard Mr. Coldwell himself speak in public of "the Trestrails" as though they were the scum of the earth—all that, and no more. Now any open-minded reader of Trestrail's productions will also find in them many things that need answering. To some of these the CCF has, to the best of my knowledge, returned no answer at all, while to others it has offered replies that are totally inadequate.¹

The plain fact is that certain critics (would there were more of them *within* the CCF itself!) definitely have something on the CCF, as it has hitherto expressed itself. Nor can the party, even were it merely for "political" reasons, safely disdain to give convincing answers.

But we need neither "Gestapo"-scares nor Trestrails in order to see why a larger number of intelligent people has not yet rallied to the cause in masses sufficient to put it over. Another plain fact is that our policy, alike in many matters of detail and in its fundamental implications, is quite too indefinite or uncertain. Consider, as random examples, interest, or the freedom of the press. Will interest be paid on compensation-bonds, or will it not? Who can tell us? Yet the point is important. Or the freedom of the press. . . . The CCF will no doubt socialize the pulp industry. Will it, possessing this sine-qua-non of newspaper production, discriminate against divergent opinion? Its attitude to critics and criticism may well suggest that it might.

¹A bad example can be found in the *CCF News* of May 31st last, where reply is made, *inter alia*, to Trestrail's use of a statement near the end of the Regina Manifesto. The reply is a piece of pitiful hedging which, so far from being likely to deceive any one, should cast doubt upon the fundamental honesty of those whose methods in controversy can become so very little better than those of their most unprincipled opponents.

The answer will need to be very convincing, if it is to convince, not Trestrails and tycoons, but the average well-meaning and intelligent democrat. Or nationally-operated banking and credit. . . . Will such a system be prepared to grant loans to intending new individual enterprises: to any? to some? if to some, to which? On what principles? Or again—what is meant by industries being "operated to the detriment of the Canadian people"? The laudable intention of this proviso is obvious to any open-minded critic. But even the open-minded critic may well desiderate a measure of explanation. The average businessman, just beginning to wonder what the CCF is all about, can be excused if he suspects an attempt to pull the wool over his eyes. Anyone can add to these examples at will and ad nauseam. The party needs to come clear, as well as clean.

So much for vagueness, etc., in matters of detail. What of the possible implications of a CCF victory in the federal field? This question, in all essentials, boils down to another: Does the CCF, while putting forth a program of modified socialism, have also an ultimate aim of establishing complete socialism? ("Ultimate," by the way, means of course nothing more nor less than "as soon as we can".) Current statements of policy emphasize the former, and are silent as to the latter. But many statements of individuals and conventions are on the record as promoting the latter. Less even than a year ago the National Secretary, in the very act of recommending a program of modified socialism, announced his belief that only complete socialism could solve our problems. What on earth is the ordinary citizen expected to believe? to act on? to vote for?

Personally speaking, I believe that complete socialism is a figment of what I may perhaps dare to call the logical imagination. Whatever it is, I doubt whether it is possible, and still more whether it is desirable. I have no doubt whatever that it would involve, at best, great dangers for democracy, particularly (strange though the statement may sound) for economic democracy. Nor have I any doubt that it is both contentious and unnecessary.

There is no opportunity, here and now, to worry out the philosophy of complete socialism and of its possible alternatives. My point here is that the CCF can neither expect nor deserve to get elected to power (and I for one hope that it will not get elected to power) before it has not only become far more definite and explicit on many matters of detail—and this is no demand for an exact and perfect blueprint—but also come clean on the question of modified or complete socialism. There is a world of difference between the two, and a large proportion of the electors sense both this and the danger of committing themselves to a party which gives the impression of trying to have it both ways.

Not only for "political" but also for better reasons, we should have at any one time one aim and one only, one policy and no more. That policy, I humbly submit, should be the socialization of just so much of our resources as may be necessary to ensure for all people (1) an adequate standard of living and civilization, (2) actual equality of opportunity, and (3) the fullest enjoyment, in reason, of the political liberties. We should not have a short-term policy of modified socialism and a long-term policy of complete socialism. Or, if we do (which God forbid!) we should at least and at once (a) make it crystal-clear that this is our position, and (b) drastically pare down our short-term program.²

Both the clarification of detail and the decision as between modified and complete socialism should be expressed

by us officially, that is, through our Provincial and National Conventions. (Special conventions should be convened to deal with these matters exclusively.) This procedure would have the added advantage that such pronouncements would automatically supersede and invalidate any and all previous statements which were inconsistent with them. (Many such statements are being, quite reasonably, quoted against us with damaging effect.) The conventions should indeed make explicit statements of this fact.

Yes: Let's go to the cleaners. There is still time.

²Our short-term program is most unwisely called a "first-term" program. See the pamphlet *Security with Victory*. As such almost everybody must regard it as chimerically over-ambitious. Worse, most people will feel that, if it were actually carried through in so short a time, not only would a ghastly confusion be inevitable, but also, if the CCF were ousted from power at the next election, its successor would have no fair chance to unscramble the insoluble.

The Problem of British Socialism

E. A. Beder

► THE BIG QUESTION is whether the British Labor Party will succeed in establishing socialism in Britain. It is true they have no such immediate aim, that they speak of such an accomplishment over the course of several five year plans. Nevertheless it is this goal that is in the minds of the mass of their supporters. Consequently, it deserves some consideration even at this early date.

Every one knows that Messrs. Attlee, Bevin and Morrison are "safe" men and that they will proceed cautiously with their program. What we want to discuss, however, is not the merit of the cautious as opposed to the radical approach or vice versa (although that is a question that will also arise), but the peculiar position of British economy as a whole; the larger question of whether a socialist Britain can be achieved under any circumstances.

It can be taken for granted that the Bank of England shares will be bought out by the state, the coal mining industry nationalized, the railroads brought under state operation, and steel and textiles rationalized to some degree. This of course is all to the good, since it provides some leverage to state action in mobilizing the industrial power of the nation. It provides a means also for directly influencing scales of wages and working conditions so that workers may derive some benefits from the state operation almost from the inception of the state control. But what is the overall picture of British economy?

A great deal has been heard recently of the British situation. The termination of lend-lease gave a spectacular touch to the position of Britain and brought out its internal and external weakness: its plight within the sterling area and its utter inability to provide dollars for essential imports outside that area.

The First World War and its aftermath brought a considerable diminution in Britain's financial strength; the Second World War has continued and accelerated this process in far sharper degree. There is no need here to describe in any detail the extremity to which Britain was driven to finance the war. "Through British purchases of war materials within India," Lord Keynes pointed out, "India has already retired her entire long term debt to

England and this immense asset in our national balance sheet, plus the yearly interest from it, disappears permanently from England." (*New York World-Telegram*, Jan. 18, 1944.)

This huge disinvestment which went on in all countries where Britain had realizable assets was, however, only the first part of the process of economic deterioration, for despite American lend-lease and Canadian mutual aid, the British now find themselves with a short term debt of from \$14-16 billion in the sterling area alone.

Nor is this debt their sole financial headache. Assume that it is going to be settled one way or another; through Bretton Woods, a direct United States loan, getting the creditors to accept a cut or permit payment to be spread over thirty years—through any or all of these means Britain's position is still sharply reduced compared to what it was before the war.

In 1938 British imports totalled roughly \$3.8 billion and exports \$2.2 billion. There was a gap here of \$1.6 billion which the British made up through what they called their "invisible exports." That is, through their overseas investments they were in receipt of about \$1 billion in interest and dividends, and they obtained most of the balance of \$.6 billion through their shipping and overseas services. In other words exports and imports did not have to balance. There was a "cushion" always in the offing which could take the strain off the drive for markets in a competitive world so that sales did not have to equal purchases. This cushion, as we have seen, amounted to \$1.6 billion in 1938, and it was equal to nearly 80% of the visible exports.

Now, with changes that have taken place in the price level, it is estimated that Britain must have an import total of \$5 billion to secure a reasonably high standard of living for its working forces and to produce a high level of employment. To meet this, British invisible exports, because of the disinvestment already noted and changes in the supply of shipping and other services, will be somewhere in the neighborhood of \$7-800 million. That is, with \$5 billion needed in imports, a cushion of \$.8 billion available, post-war exports must rise to \$4.2 billion as against \$2.2 billion in 1938.

Exports, in other words, must rise 90% in current dollars, or over 50% in 1938 dollars, a tremendous leap over the pre-war period, any way it is figured. Further, the cushion, from being equal to 80% of the visible exports in 1938, has now fallen to a prospective 20%. The cushion cannot be measured in straight percentage figures. As it rises it takes on a progressive increase in value; its fall signifies a progressive deterioration which extends into the political field.

British economists and financial authorities have of course not lost sight of these difficulties. The result of their study has been to divide them sharply on the policy to be pursued. Those who follow Lord Keynes advocate a return to world trading via the Bretton Woods proposals. They seek stable currencies (but not too stable for Britain), abolition of trade restrictions, and a general pattern of world organization that would attempt to recapture the flow of international trade and exchange that characterized the period before the First World War. They seek to revive the world market in its old traditional form.

There is an influential group of bankers and industrialists in Britain, however, who take an opposite view. They note the existing situation wherein Britain is a huge debtor to the whole sterling area and they seek to turn this to their trade advantage. They want payment of the debt tied in

with trade, and they want to make the sterling area a closed area centering on Britain. They argue that free world trade today means in reality a gain for the United States. They know that its superior technical development, its immense productive power and its huge domestic market give it the advantage in mass production, hence an advantage in costs and in the export market. Consequently they are all for Britain utilizing its debtor position as the nucleus for a new sterling bloc which will have a "closed" arrangement and try to keep United States competition away from its doors. They fear the doctrine of freer trade and want to create a secure sterling region in terms of a controlled capitalism over that area.

This is the situation that the British Labor Party inherits. After the cheers of victory have died away, it is permissible to ask: through what crack is socialism going to seep? We see that the first task that faces the party is that it must exploit the working force of the country more efficiently than the former managers, the private owners of production. If it does not, if exports cannot rise to the level demanded by the \$5 billion imports, then the national economy will sag. If the volume of exports falls short, the standard of living of the masses must fall short. "Britons must skimp to build export markets, Cripps states," runs a caption in the *Globe & Mail*, Sept. 10, 1945. They must skimp if they don't have exports, and they must skimp if they do, it would appear.

Under such conditions whatever party takes office in Britain, be it Labor, Conservative or any other, enters not upon office but upon a treadmill. From now on it is at the mercy of the export-import relationship. It may be said that Britain always was, and that for that matter every country is, in a world of trade; but we see the peculiar conditions that now have Britain in a vise. The change from a cushion of 80% to one of 20% in its invisible exports, and the huge increase demanded in the magnitude of these exports cuts away the economic strength of the country. The change is as though a prosperous firm which could afford to sell only at a profit has been reduced to one which *must* sell in order to meet payrolls.

"The fact that Britain must expand her export trade to live makes her administration, whether Tory or Labor, amenable to any suggestions assuring wider foreign markets." (N.Y. *Times* despatch from London, Aug. 1, 1945.) We can be sure that these suggestions will not be to the advantage of the British workers. But what the despatch says is true, and from this truth we see the indispensable condition for Britain, or for any country, if it is ever to be a socialist state. *It must make itself free of the world market.*

It must be, if not self-sufficient, at least assured of its basic raw materials and food, so that its workers are not under the pressure of having to compete with superior industrial nations to live and its government not under the necessity of being "amenable" to the suggestions of trade rivals who will drive the harshest of bargains. A profit or market economy is not only inimical to the well-being of the producers; it can in given circumstances erect itself as a barrier to the socializing process. It can do more: it can nullify this process, and in a way that is independent of the will of the socializers.

Britain or its Labor Party may seek socialism, but the country's lack of natural resources makes it ever at the mercy of the export-import relationship. Although the government may seek to regulate the economy on the basis of social justice and give to the workers a high standard of living, the world market price must forever ring in their ears. It must do more than ring in their ears, it must pound

on their consciousness, for always the volume of exports sets itself up as the true arbiter of the social level.

The government may nationalize the coal mines, rationalize the production of textiles and steel, set decent conditions and wages for the workers. So far, so good. But then comes the question: what about exports, what about prices? Good wages and working conditions, by all means, but these things tend to raise costs and the world market is only interested in price, not in humane conditions of production. All would be well if Britain were the lowest cost producer in the world, as of fifty years ago, or maintained a superior technology; but this is no longer the case. More and more competitors reveal themselves in the export market, strange new competitors, not only the United States, but Canada, Brazil, India. There is not even time to enjoy the elimination of Germany from the world arena; a host of new faces are already in the ring.

As a matter of practical politics, the Labor government will be busy with all manner of problems over the next few years; but basically we see the iron grip that the export-import relationship holds upon it. Everything depends on how a solution is found for this key problem. Somehow or other Britain has got to export and import in a way that is independent of the pressure of the world market.

The most obvious course would seem to be the setting up of a socialized federation, with the countries of the British Empire as its inner core. With Canada, India, Australia and New Zealand included within an integrated economic sphere, the supply of food and a great deal of needed raw materials is assured to Britain; there is available also an export market of considerable magnitude. Moreover, hovering uneasily on what may be called the sidelines of Europe are a number of nations seeking a way out from their own desperate situation. France, Italy, Belgium, Norway, Holland — these countries in particular can see that the world market has nothing to offer them, for their economies have disintegrated as a result of the war and they can only appear now in the role of pensioners dependent upon American largesse, rather than as entrepreneurs ready for competitive battle. Is there any hope for them except as members of a socialist federation?

This regrouping of Britain Empire units has nothing in common with British Empire Preference. British Empire Preference of itself solves nothing. It simply reproduces in constricted form all the stresses of the world market, and displays them in miniature; it is simply world capitalism in a smaller world. The same developments and the same division of interests appear; one set of producers battles desperately to gain the market against the other. Australia competes with Canada in selling agricultural products to Britain; Canada competes with Britain in selling automobiles to Australia. Tariffs may be set more favorably as against a country outside the group, but private interests within the barriers still battle in the time-honored way for their own advantage. Thus it is not Empire Preference but socialist production which holds the answer.

In Australia and New Zealand there are labor governments in office at this time, and in Canada there is always the possibility of the CCF making it at the next election. The political difficulties, at least in the level of kindred governments, are not insuperable for a planned and federated economy. But none of these labor parties has ever gone beyond the dream of achieving socialism in its own domain on some great and distant day. They have never given any serious consideration to integrating their economies with kindred nations nor ever looked beyond the mainte-

nance of their own position in the world market in the interests of their own private producers. History now confronts them with the need for elevating their political sights.

A Britain squeezed by the relentless pressure of the world market, and a British government squeezed by its own workers' demand that some of the promise of the new social order be made good, could cause some changes in current political thinking. And British dominions made still further aware that the world market is a harsh taskmaster could also perk up politically. But the key to action lies in the British Labor Party. Either they master the world market or the world market will master them, and the way to master it is not by subsidizing British capitalists so that they can compete with American enterprise, but by setting up a counter area to the capitalist one.

Chief Reuben Bull Speaks

K. C.

► THE INDIAN ASSOCIATION of Alberta held its sixth general meeting last June, about 140 delegates from all the treaty bands in the province attending. Such meetings as this, and the all-Canada Indian conference in Ottawa later, illustrate the fact that the Indian has come to recognize the necessity of making his problems and needs known to the public at large, since he has no representation in parliament and no faith in the effectiveness of the Indian Affairs Branch of the Department of Mines and Resources. Petitions from individual bands or reserves have too often been quietly filed away.

All tribes are agreed that certain needs are the most pressing: improved educational facilities, more medical and other social services, better economic conditions, a Royal Commission of inquiry into Indian needs with drastic revision of the obsolete Indian Act of 1850 as an objective. All intelligent readers of this paper will undoubtedly agree that these are minimum demands, but if the same readers could appreciate the urgency of some of the Indian problems and the quality of the Indian life that is being frustrated and destroyed by sheer neglect, these matters would not rest so comfortably in the cosy bed of mere opinion. Perhaps the best way to bring out what those in direct contact with Indian peoples feel is to quote the speech of Chief Reuben Bull, of Goodfish Lake, one of the directors of the I.A.A. Though blessed with very little of formal "white" education, Chief Bull made a speech which, for eloquence, Ottawa floor-holders might well envy. But then, in the long days it took him to prepare it, he gave it thought.

His whole plea is for education:

"My belief and my earnest desires are these. I believe that our government should abide by the Treaties with us Indians in the way of education: to establish day schools on our reserves they will be contributing the greatest single factor for our advancement. Education is something that should be continually improving. The children of today will be the men and women of tomorrow. It is therefore very important that our children are equipped with facilities for earning a living in a modern world. The children should learn to be able to think for themselves, and for living with others. Does the present system give us the highest standard of education? No. We have come to the stage where we are more particularly interested in education as a way of life. We want it to teach our children how to live among their fellowmen, how to adapt themselves to others and

how to meet life's situations. . . . Working for the common good of all is the basic principle. It is up to all of us to work for better educational facilities, as we want our boys and girls to be able to accept the responsibilities of tomorrow. We are now living in a time of great opportunity.

"We Indians feel that we have not been treated in the past as if we were members of the human family or like citizens of Canada. Nor do we feel that we are at present considered worthy to participate in the benefits arising from the modern way of thinking. We resent this as an insult to the dignity of man in us, that feeling which we have inherited from our worthy fathers, the Indian Chiefs, whose advance toward a brighter life has been so cruelly interrupted by the unscrupulous usurpers of our rights. We demand that the Government of Canada accept our Petition of Rights in the same spirit that other rights of mankind throughout the world are accepted.

"When our country suffered a depression and the governments found it necessary to relieve the situation by various relief measures, we Indians were not considered for the same benefits; and we starved when our neighbors, some of whom were not even required to be Canadian citizens, were given help by the government. That was not right, was it?

"When all the people of the provinces are having schools in their communities, our children are taken from us and we don't see them for a year at a time. Don't we love our children? Don't our hearts break with longing for the only thing we have in life? Does not blood run through our veins? Are we made of different material to the white man? Do our children need the loving companionship of their mothers and fathers less than the white children? Are we made of stone that has no feeling? Don't we feel the pain of a hungry heart as does every human being? . . . We want the white man, our white brother, to practice his Christianity, the same which he has preached to us Indians. We should have our own schools right at home, where parents, teachers and the children will be living in constant contact with each other. This would relieve the present heartache suffered by Indians in their separation from their children.

"Why do our sons fight for the principle of democracy when at home we Indians are not accorded the simple fundamentals of decent living? . . . We Indians are sometimes subjected to the kind of indignities that our Fascist enemies have inflicted upon freedom-loving people. This situation makes it difficult for us to distinguish between the evils we have heard about in Fascism and the democracy we are fighting for. Is there a special justice for Indians? . . . We don't believe it. We'll fight for our rights. We would rather be dead heroes, worthy of our forefathers, than be like rats, a shame to our ancestors, a disgrace to our children. When the Four Freedoms finally come to this world — may we have our share?"

Can there be anything in the joking contention of a certain Ontario Indian — "White man afraid to educate us Indians. I guess he afraid we too smart?"

OUR NEW ADDRESS

Subscribers will please note that the address of the editorial and business offices of *The Canadian Forum* has been changed from 28 Wellington St. West, to 16 Huntley St., Toronto 5, Canada.

Community Organization

Marcus Adeney

On the sociological level the individual emerges as part of a new whole, and the integrative relations on this level are specific and irreducible. — Arthur Koestler.

I.

► QUESTIONS of Community Organization promptly refer us to the twin problems of self and society. Yet any dogmatic statement about these matters at once faces a dilemma: the ego or self has not been located, its boundaries defined; and there is no co-ordinated working knowledge of society. Moreover, no figure, no person we can look to as a symbol represents human maturity in the contemporary world. There is an abyss on two sides. Before us lies the community, the immediate environment, the plot of ground beneath our feet. We ourselves are shadowy figures in a play no man intended, and should move forward one step at a time, keeping our fingers crossed.

It is often said that this is a period of continuing emergency, that since first things come first every proper adult should concentrate his energies on political change. It is obvious that the community is at the mercy of whatever powers may decide the destiny of a national state, that the freedom of sovereignty is no longer possible for governments or individuals, that relative status based on a working relationship is all that we can look for in the way of self-determination. But it is not true that transformation takes place only at the top, on certain terms, or necessarily follows an obvious lead. We may have noticed that preaching fails to rectify conduct; we are far from agreement as to what are the now necessary requirements of change.

Looking backward over the last fifty years it is not easy to be complacent. Scientific, philosophic, social, and political formulations stagnate, mostly, on private shelves. True, John Citizen is catching up with specialized thinking, wondering if there lies a clue to permanence on an unstable planet. But even he is not looking for a direct answer. On instinctive and intellectual levels man now declares for experience. Intellectual and manual workers alike must get their fingers into the clay of everyday affairs, shift the sods in a real garden, feel at home in a world of necessary change. The community, I suggest, offers the only field for experience, and the problem for thinking people now resolves itself into that of Community Organization.

Summing up: The atomic bomb made clear a need for social transformation. This change must be a step-by-step business, undertaken now. A real transformation will include all the factors which make up the general situation — factors social and personal, organizational and moral. Social and personal need not merge in neighborhood relations. One step toward the world of tomorrow can and should be taken in the community field.

II.

First we must see the community in which we happen to live as objective to ourselves. This is a difficult and rather fearful undertaking, because various forms of infantilism serve to identify the creature with its surroundings. (Anna Kavan has remarked that the mental development of the vast majority of human beings ceases at puberty. She speaks of "this adolescent in adult clothing who is the average citizen of our world".) Ostensibly the Canadian Community is free to develop its own character, to show creative initiative, to be individual, to change and grow. Actually, its basic pat-

terns are rigidly imposed from above and from the past; and these patterns aim at the preservation of the individual as opportunist, or the protection of such group life as supports opportunism. Concepts, plans, projects necessary for the emergence of a co-operative community are called idealistic and channelled into desert sands. As social man the individual is defeated by appropriate organizations. Thus conditioned we can more easily be rebellious than objective, look to world reform rather than to developments on our own doorstep.

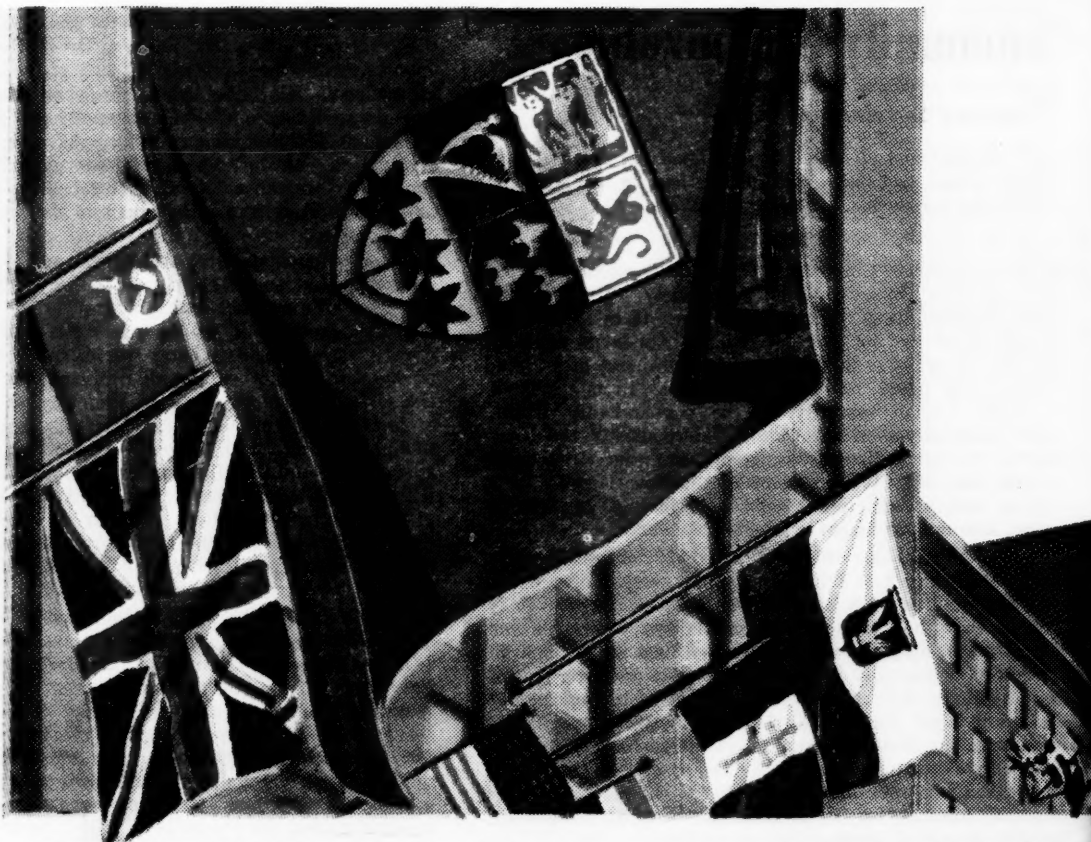
But developments are possible here and now. It is probably true that social structures do not progress gradually toward perfection, that human beings do not necessarily improve or grow wiser as the years pass. But patterns of growth, developments, change in response to real pressure of one sort or another, are alike discernable in man and in the societies of men. Our social reforms, with the thinking or lack of thought that goes with them, are exactly suited to a phase of industrial progress — one which has just ended. It should be said that the Canadian Community, as we know it today, has been outmoded. It is a cultural corpse, which, at some peril to ourselves, we dress up in all the finery of tradition and endow with our vitality. Corpse-like, it cannot resist innovation. Fixation, decline and decay are as characteristic of groups as of individual forms.

Being objective about the neighborhood, its private worlds and private lives, its characteristic anachronisms, we can begin to recognize the human boundaries of these things. For people vary in their scope and potentiality; and an ever-growing minority in each community is capable of 1) a measure of objectivity as regards the local scene, and 2) active enterprise in establishing new and more suitable institutions. That reasonably hopeful minority can and must be brought together, not on the grounds of political or other agreement, but on the project basis. Something must be done. One calls for help. The impulse to assist, to participate, to play a part, is irresistible. The hard shell of individualism and antiquated group loyalty cracks in the sunshine of a broader interest. Anna Kavan's juvenile average man welcomes adventure.

III.

Our functional view of the community cannot stop at the institutional level. It reveals ourselves and our neighbors in a new kind of relation, one determined by factors over which we have had little or no control. When a neighborhood group meets to consider some unusual project, or to discuss fresh alignments of interest and influence, the private or group limitation, the special interest, becomes immediately apparent. It could be said that men and women grow up by outstepping some earlier circumstance; yesterday's good and true can never apply, on the same terms, to tomorrow. This is a lesson learned on Community Councils, where matters coming up for prompt and practical consideration would normally escape notice. Unexpected generalizations emerge from average conversations; we suspect that all communication is in some basic sense practical. By changing a few circumstances, a few alignments (it might be said) man changes all.

This is no place to talk philosophy, but surely it is worth remarking that all over the world dynamic as opposed to static concepts of reality are gaining ground. Existence as we know it is always bounded by stresses; in itself represents a balance of power. Of the successful individual we say that he has "poise." As the thinking of professional people comes to deal with the actual processes by means of which man and society alike prevail, so will changes become the enduring principle, activity be equated with repose. Exclusion, inertia: these are the social intolerables, certain to breed



BETTY AND JIM will long remember all they saw of victory celebrations, but they are still too young to see the real meaning. We, their elders, have no excuse for lack of vision.

The coming of victory ended the *fighting* phase only of the war—the obviously terrible, cruel and destructive phase. It opened the period of reconstruction which we must approach with just as much understanding and tenacity or fail to attain the ends for which so many have paid so high a price.

We must meet the cost of bringing home hundreds of thousands of fighting men . . . of rehabilitating our ex-service men and women . . . of providing for our war disabled. We must co-operate with our allies in bringing relief to friendly peoples whose lands have been ravaged by the war. Production for this purpose, together with production

to meet the accumulated needs in Canadian homes, will help to ensure employment that is so vital to us.

In fact we must rebuild and renew in countless ways before ever the carefree joys of peace become possible.

It is for this that we shall soon be asked to buy Bonds in the Ninth Victory Loan. Surely no thinking man or woman can fail to recognize that to save and lend is just as much a duty as ever. Happily in this case the path of duty is the path of self-interest. For, with *complete* peace, a still bigger nest egg in Victory Bonds will be the happiest of possessions.

Get ready now to buy Victory Bonds

NATIONAL WAR FINANCE COMMITTEE

In the past there have been two Victory Loans in each year. This time there will be only one. Naturally the objective is higher for this reason.

Help to meet it by planning the same rate of savings as in previous Victory Loans . . . *which will buy double this time!* You will be investing in one yearly loan the same amount of savings as you formerly invested in two half-yearly loans.

Give your order to the Victory Loan Salesman who will call on you or place it with your bank or loan or trust company. You can also buy Bonds through your employer for cash or on the Payroll Savings Plan. Any one of these agencies will be glad to give you every assistance in completing your application. Bonds may be bought in denominations of \$50, \$100, \$500, \$1,000 and larger.

*How this
Victory Loan differs
from past loans*

Betty and Jim saw the Flags

...what did You see?



forces at once positive, irrational, and uncontrollable. From this we conclude that the possibility of community activity on a very much wider participating scale implies the necessity for such activity. It would not be true to say that the Community Council, set up to co-ordinate all the interests that are properly communal, local, or regional, is solely an advisory body. An advisory body must have its opposite number, an executive fully empowered to act. No such body at present exists; the new co-ordinates will require other institutional machinery for their effective expression. The Study-Action Program in Saskatchewan (plus co-operative demonstration) points right down the alley.

We have come through a time of crisis when individuals, as well as classes and nations, responded to a call for maximum constructive effort. Voluntary service was not confined, during these years, to idealistic, bored or scheming persons. It was everyone's privilege to do something, but it was no one's duty to re-model the frame within which services could be rendered. The problems thus raised were sometimes recognized, and discussed, by persons and agencies concerned. But no settlement, in fact no improvement in the present situation, was really possible; because everyone knew we were going to slip back after the war into social cynicism and self-interest. Much was learned by those who helped on voluntary committees. That knowledge should be applied now to the study of, and experimentation with, functioning community groups.

This study and experimentation should, I believe, take place on two levels. Wartime Housing Counsellors have gone to school with new communities, established on given social and economic ground, committed to the hazards of war and peace. Persons experienced in any form of local organization, from sports group to CCF club, have special knowledge of people and what brings them together. The local business man, with his church and service club affiliation is, within limits, well-informed and neighborhood-minded. He can be introduced to new circles, be induced to share in projects more broadly based, more culturally inclusive. This is not to minimize the social problem as a whole, the need for reconstruction on post-nineteenth century lines. The Community Council with its present organizational, educational, evolutionary possibilities can only work within an existing power complex, deal with an established hierarchy. Even if the community, as at present constituted, sets up blocks in the way of progress, still we must not disdain individual and group efforts which, by progressive acts of co-ordination, accustom people to change, growth, and a regional overview. The Community Council in Canada could and probably will be the initiating source of essential re-educational social training.

IV.

Community Organization calls for leadership within the community, municipal, provincial, and federal participation in long-range programs, financing (at first) exactly geared to the procedures established by custom and recognized as "sound." Persons prominent because they have been active in group projects represent the human base upon which a council may be constructed. (In this instance opinions and personalities are less important than representation.) But whoever is selected as chairman must certainly be a statesman, at any rate a thoroughly friendly and judicial sort of person, for his task will be almost wholly that of co-ordinator.

Summarized knowledge for organizers, those who would like to work in the field, is not yet readily available; techniques for Community Organization, ways of reaching individuals, the kind of programs that will attract people with

professional qualifications, models for constitutions, plans for construction, and co-ordinates of building with services, literature and expert aid, departments of government and organizations which can offer special services. *Community Centers in Canada*, an illustrated pamphlet published by Ryerson Press, contains general and specific articles and a bibliography; The Association for Adult Education is building up a library of such material; the departments of education in each province are sources of information; the Canadian Federation of Artists has done a fine promotion job. What we really need now is some reporting, a community information service with regular bulletins answering questions and assisting local folk.

One reason for the lack of either a central plan or effective services is that communities which set up Citizen Councils will be doing a pioneer job. To the extent that they tackle new problems arising out of novel situations, they will be breaking new ground. No social scientist, no learned body can do more than gather, co-ordinate, and abstract knowledge gained by experience. Nor can governments legislate for a non-existent social body. This is why Community Councils should come first; take precedence now over theory or direct political action. In the Canadian Community new forms of social life, integrating a living culture with practical affairs, will emerge from those derelict nineteenth-century structures — physical and institutional — which we live with today. What is needed always is an overview. John Citizen and his wife will obtain such an overview of neighborhood and region as they come to participate in the directly social projects of a Community Council.

A Liberal Education

Part II.

Northrop Frye

► THERE IS a distinction of long standing between technical, vocational and professional education on the one hand, which fits one for one's job, and liberal education on the other, which is not good for anything in particular, but is a good in itself, which provides the material, not for a career, but for living in a civilized way. The traditional content of a liberal education was Greek and Latin, and the idea still has largely literary associations. This distinction is not as clear as it might be, for liberal education, in its great days (16th to 19th centuries) was really the vocational training of the leisure class. As a leisure class has no social function in a country not an aristocracy, education, in America and here, has had its liberal aspect placed within a vocational framework. That is, the tendency in American education has been to base the educational program as far as possible on the individual student's needs, interests, talents and ambitions, with a view, first, to developing his whole resources as an individual, and, second, to getting him into the right social context. This is what is generally known as "progressive" education, though it is almost well enough established to deserve the title of progressive conservative. American schools of education have developed elaborate teaching rituals, expounded in a jargon that rivals the worst days of scholastic philosophy, for providing the student with opportunities of developing his inner nature, so that his role in society may be inferred from his character without loss of time.

There has been a growing feeling that this tendency in education has, in trying to meet social demands, sold out to

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the public's conception of what is useful to the student. It is said that it reflects, instead of trying to improve, public taste; that it gives the student the maximum of what the public wants and the minimum of what he needs. It is said to provide him with the public's mediocre materialism for his philosophy of life, and to ignore the axioms of liberal education: that learning is worth while for its own sake, that the desire to think is as basic as the desire to eat and sleep, that contemplation of the works of genius and idealism is essential to provide the right motives for activity. In American universities a powerful reaction against "progressive" education has already set in. A formidable list of writers, including Mark Van Doren, Mortimer Adler, Jacques Maritain, and Walter Lippmann, have come out in favor of a liberal education based on literature and philosophy, rigidly separated from vocational training, and designed to show the student in a democracy what his faith in democratic values is based on. Two universities, Chicago and St. John's, have drawn up curricula to teach this kind of education. The Chicago one is based on certain educational theories deriving from Aristotle and the Middle Ages, and is intended to restore to the university the sense of the unity and interrelationship of all knowledge which existed in medieval times (or so it is asserted, by people who are still mentally keeping Roger Bacon in jail). St. John's presents, as an entire course of study, a shelf of one hundred great books, covering all periods of western culture, and designed to impress the shape of that culture upon the undergraduate mind.

I am personally very leery of these curricula, but they show a healthy desire to experiment and a healthy dissatisfaction with that armour of complacency called the American way of life, on which a colossal war has inflicted only the most superficial damage. When they have served their turn, they will be thrown on the usual junkpile for discarded American experiments: Canada, to be rediscovered in due course by Canadian provincial governments. There is also a rather crude and naive pseudo-Catholicism running through the movement, and much prejudice and misrepresentation in the way that its writers present "progressive" views. John Dewey, the progressive apostle, is not a "public enemy," as Adler calls him, and it is silly to make the best theories of progressive educators directly responsible for the worst practices in American schools. But the premises in which their attacks are founded seem to me to deserve examination.

They say that an educator preoccupied with getting the student adjusted to his social environment is apt to forget that there is an ideal as well as an actual environment. The more often we are told that education should be useful and practical, the more inclined we are to ask, useful for what? practical to what end? And if the only answer is, useful for living in modern society, and practical to the end of producing a citizen for that society, then the finished product of educational effort is the typical American bourgeois. Now there are certainly worse types of human being than that. But contemporary American civilization is only a temporary kind of civilization, and revolutionary changes, which may transform it into another kind of civilization altogether, lie immediately in front of it. To get safely through this we need flexible minds, who understand the relative nature of their society and its liability to change. It is wrong to accept this change passively as something that fate will do for us, and it is wrong to regard it merely as a process with no direction or purpose. The possibilities of improving society are in our own minds. But to improve society we must have a standard for improvement, and the only possible standard is that of the permanent values of civilization, the ideals of freedom, wisdom, reason, equality and co-operation which are true for all countries and for all ages. The place to find

these is in the products of civilization which are of permanent value, that is, the works of the greatest thinkers and artists.

If we cannot improve human nature, we can at any rate improve some human minds, or help them to improve themselves. But to try to do this by making the middle-class American boy realize the possibilities of his own middle-class Americanism is running in circles. He can only improve his mind by seeing what better minds are like; he can only develop himself by measuring his strength against a subtler mentality. It is not progressive, but dangerously reactionary, to identify reality with an ordinary middle-class American's conception of reality. It is not progressive, but dangerously reactionary, to reject the authority of past genius in favor of the authority of present mediocrity. It is not progressive, but dangerously reactionary, to regard scientific materialism as the climax of all history, and to assume that the advance of science implies the advance of civilization. America spent two billion dollars to develop the atomic bomb and finally produced it: that is not a vindication of the truth of scientific principles, but a terrible satire on the way that scientific principles are absorbed into human life. It is no good saying that we may get beneficial by-products of atomic power. We gave priority to the bomb; we should have rioted in the streets had any government proposed to spend two billions dollars on a scientific project unless its primary object had been destruction. It is clear that the use which the human mind is going to make of science is the important thing now; and it is equally clear that the average mind of today, so far from being the criterion of all past genius and wisdom, is not even wholly sane. The fate of civilization depends on establishing standards of human mentality. The biological conception of homo sapiens is altogether inadequate. Montaigne and Himmler are both biologically human beings, but the nature of the difference between Montaigne and Himmler is far more important to understand right now than the nature of the difference between Himmler and the black widow spider.

Such, expressed very much in my own language, is the general drift of the anti-progressive argument. I now turn to a book of papers read at a conference representing more or less the Dewey school of thought,¹ to see what they have to say. Not very much, apparently: they seem utterly unaware of the real meaning of the charges brought against them, and almost wilfully stupid in dealing with the other view. As the title indicates, they adopt the same formula as their opponents, the tiresome "everybody who disagrees with me is showing a fascist tendency" line which gets into all contemporary arguments about any thing. But they are more tangled up in words: they insist that because most great men are dead, those who wish to study them are "turning back to the past," and they do not seem to comprehend that to accept the personal authority of the greatest men does not necessarily mean believing everything they say. A. E. Murphy's paper, the best in the book, points out a considerable intellectual snobbery in his opponents, of the kind that considers only foreign genius profound, and remarks that if the hundred St. John's books are in the great tradition of culture, they are not in the American tradition, as they do not include Jefferson, Thoreau, Emerson or Whitman. But in trying to preserve certain aspects of the American revolutionary tradition, most of these writers seem to have lost the American revolutionary guts.

I do not myself believe in any educational program that adjusts the student either to an ideal or to an actual environ-

¹The Authoritarian Attempt to Capture Education. N. Y., King's Crown Press, 1945, pp. 152. Contributors include John Dewey, Sidney Hook, Irwin Edman and Bruce Bliven.

ment, and I distrust both invulnerable wisdom and backslap-happy sociability as human goals. Offhand, I should say that the purpose of liberal education today is to achieve a neurotic maladjustment in the student, to twist him into a critical and carping intellectual, very dissatisfied with the world, very finicky about accepting what it offers him, and yet unable to leave it alone. The man who can appreciate Bach and Dante will be bored to death by most movies, nauseated by most radio programs, stupefied by most sermons, and sickened by most politicians. The man who can understand Goethe and Montaigne will not be better equipped to deal with his own society: he will merely be more inclined to retch and spew at the very sight of a large proportion of its members, including anti-Semites, spokesmen of big business, and people who want to fight Russia. The man who reads Tolstoy and Marx will not be able to find refuge in an "ivory tower": he will only be able to see with horrid clarity that most business men are living in one. In short, the man with a liberal education will not have an integrated personality or be educated for living: he will be a chronically irritated man, probably one of that miserable band who read *The Canadian Forum*, which is always finding fault and viewing with alarm. One real dose of real culture, and never again will he be able to enter, with millions of his compatriots, into the Paradisal peace of the *Star Weekly* and the Canadian Sunday afternoon, where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest.

The motive for getting such an education is not masochism, but simply self-preservation. Although America is a peaceful nation, peacetime American civilization is not good enough yet to supply what William James called a moral equivalent of war. It has reached the final dilemma of *laissez faire*, in which the highest qualities of real civilization, co-operation, sacrifice and heroic effort, are now brought out only by wartime conditions. Hence we must either accept war as the noblest condition of man, like the fascists, or improve the human quality, as opposed to the material quality, of our peacetime civilization. The hundred per cent American will have to do at least fifty per cent better or America (and of course Canada with it) will go the way of all muscle-bound empires which nowadays collapse rather more quickly than they used to do. The danger is there, but danger is not fate, and even a very small minority of educated neurotics might turn the scale. The Bible tells us that ten righteous men would have saved Sodom from destruction. We need a new slogan for education: how about "Education for Gomorrah"?

Four Poems by Margaret Crosland

Broken City

Never to reach the final utterance
after the stumbling on the broken wall,
the struggle among the question-hands
and the lost upspeaking faces.

To wander between the brick and iron
or squint through the loophole to life
in the broken city. No words found
to frame our barren argument.

Fret of wind in the brown trees
and each corner a dusty mouth;

the road blocked by silence,
or the rain nagging at the doorway.

No repleteness of summer came
to a city of shattered windows
and darkened streets, for even the stars
could see we had no penitence.

These Women

Only of these can nothing be written or said,
no praise framed for those who merely resist
the silence; you can see them suddenly twist
their fingers or put their hands to their heads;
those who don't cry but don't like going to bed,
who are quickly scared or suddenly calm, who steel
themselves to think; who feel or dare not feel,
who dare not think but know that someone's dead.

Women who eat and work but hardly care,
who don't buy clothes, forget to curl their hair,
don't read papers or listen to the news;
don't feel the rain when they stand in queues—
these women who beseech the hard unknown
and live in a little icy world alone.

Swift Mnemonic

I have lost this answer to your need
and mine, this growing fear of restlessness
and want of speech in silence that oppress
our separate lives, the yearning to be freed
from this little circumstance, the striving
to recall the short existence, somehow to leap
this gap expanding so dangerously deep
and far, yet must not be past our contriving.

Searching through words and shapes, how to retain
the sudden articulation; the waves tie
their loud white knots on shore, linking a chain
of foam from rock to rock. In March, the high
winds seize their huge pen from the cloud and rain,
daubing their swift mnemonic on the sky.

Warning

At the nervous chattering of the city guns
torches are flashed behind the fingered blinds;
in quiet houses lovers are lying awake,
old people put on coats and are afraid.

Anxious on silver stilts the searchlights climb,
picking their way among the cynical stars.
The hearts of the houses throb, try not to hear
the uneasy shuffle of their basement feet.

In the emphatic blossoming of bombs,
the visible cringe of steeples above the cowed
and silent square, beneath the huddled cranes
only the bridges brace themselves to fight.

Film Review

D. Mosdell

► FROM a critical point of view, the *New Yorker* said what is probably the final word on *The Valley of Decision* by describing it as a large glum picture which treats the problem of capital versus labor without taking sides. All the same, this seems to be distinctly a minority report; people have been flocking into the movie-houses to see it (causing a serious bottleneck in the supply of newer and livelier films), and rushing out afterwards to buy the book and go through the whole thing again. Plainly, the vast public does not find the picture glum, whatever the critics say; and the question is, why not?

Public taste is often erratic and unaccountable; but in this case it seems to me that the manner of treating the question of capital versus labor has had a great deal to do with it. In *The Valley* the problem is present, all right, but in such a simplified and sugared form as practically not to exist. The time is, roughly, 1877; and the Scotts as we see them are the second generation of a family which came over from Europe with very little money, and settled down to make a lot of it. Already the children show signs of degenerating under the influence of so many finger-bowls and fish-knives; but kind-hearted, hard-headed Scott, Sr., still has the vision to refuse an amalgamation with Carnegie which would increase his profits but take the control of the mill out of his hands. "The only way I am interested in competing with Carnegie," he says, "is in making better steel." I am told that at that time the small mill-owners could still afford to be independent, and even to do some experimenting in steel processing, without risking much. Apparently they might on occasion also treat with their employees on the subject of wages and grant some of their demands without finding themselves in the horrid position of having to do without the second carriage-and-pair or the grand tour of Europe. This was of course before Carnegie effected his monopoly and crushed the unions out of existence.

In the early and idyllic time pictured in *The Valley of Decision* the producers (and, incidentally, the author) would have us believe that the whole question of labor relations was a matter of human social contacts. Negotiation is represented as a comparatively courtly affair in which the owner, full of good intentions toward his workers, increases their wages five cents an hour on being respectfully requested so to do; and in his turn being accorded the wholehearted regard and co-operation of his men. The implication throughout the picture is that there is nothing inherently wrong with the economic system growing out of this paternalism; and that there is nothing in the nature of the profit system itself which precludes men dealing decently and humanely with each other, no matter how large and complicated the industrial world becomes. Certainly there is no hint that the whole arrangement may become a kind of steel trap, committing the workers to rebellion and the owners automatically to resistance. After seeing *The Valley of Decision* the clerk can go back to his desk in the Indescribable Life (head office in New York, branches in Calcutta, Brisbane and Hong Kong), comfortably equipped with a copy of the Four Freedoms on illuminated parchment and the precious idea that in industry as in human affairs it is goodwill that counts — no decision necessary, just a trifling change of heart.

Or, specifically human aside the picture displays even more strongly than the original novel a resemblance to all

the slick magazine stories you ever read. Since at that time the eldest son often went into the business, it was inevitable that he should meet at least one of the beautiful healthy young girls from the other side of the tracks; and so Paul Scott meets Mary Rafferty. At first Mary has some quaint idea that she cannot measure up to the Scotts in refinement and education, and goes to great lengths (England) to lose her brogue — never having had much of a grip on it to begin with. Presently she comes back and consents to marry the eldest son. Whereupon her father curses her and her hypothetical offspring in a vulgar manner and for good measure shoots her prospective father-in-law in an altercation over union rights. Naturally discouraged by all these misfortunes, Mary cancels her engagement and takes up dressmaking. After a suitable interval, which he occupies by messing about with the Bessemer process, marrying the ubiquitous girl next door and having a child by her to carry on the business in the family tradition, Paul finally exasperates his wife into leaving him, and is at last free to ride off in triumph with Mary, who turns out to be in a position to save the family fortunes for him. Apparently though love does not invariably conquer all, it frequently wins by default — a conclusion which will be familiar to all readers of *The Cosmopolitan* or *The Ladies' Home Journal*. Having it all work out in period costume just goes to show us that human nature never changes, really, and if you find that reflection depressing and the picture glum, you are no member of the great American public. It takes a strong constitution to listen to the voice of the people in *The Valley of Decision*; unless your interest is purely clinical, better be on the safe side and stay away.

CORRESPONDENCE

The Editor:

I would like in the interests of justice to take strong issue with H. Singer of *The Call* (whatever that is) who had a letter in your magazine of the September issue. The refutation of such poisonous propaganda is especially necessary at this time, as pointed out in the very able and timely article by Dr. Vlastos in the same issue, warning us of the evil purposes of those who slander the USSR and incite to war against her.

Anyone can put down a series of flat categorical statements from (a) to (z), invented in a fertile mind or garnered from "Die Sturmer" (if one's stomach is strong and conscience weak enough), and then challenge anyone in opposition to refute him — but who would bother? The technique was evolved by Hitler in his text, *Mein Kampf*, which apparently had keen study by certain circles in Canada also. His motto was "The bigger the lie the more easily swallowed by the gullible morons," the general idea being that if you throw enough mud often enough at those you hate some part of the evil mixture will stick and smear their reputations and records in the eyes of the unthinking.

Why should anyone consider or believe Mr. Singer's list of so-called "facts," which are all refuted in entirety by every impartial authority on the USSR from Walter Duranty to Edgar Snow, from the Dean of Canterbury to Dr. Harry Ward, not even mentioning any Communist writers on Soviet economy and theory? Singer's only attempt at "proving" any point on his list of nightmares was to quote Koestler, a renegade progressive now writing for the reactionary journals, who openly admitted in the same book, *The Yogi and the Commissar*, that if he had to choose between the Commissar (Communism) and Colonel Blimp

(Reactionary neoFascism), he would most emphatically choose the latter! So apparently would Mr. Singer — and the choice may be nearer than he thinks.

Mr. Singer asks us to discuss these "facts," this rotten fruit which he has garnered from the worst of the Soviet-hating lie-inventors, and also to discuss their "implications." The only implication I would care to draw is that Goebbels is not dead, as reported, but escaped to this continent and is busy lurking under editorial desks of reactionary war-fomenting American and Canadian journals, giving the needle to Mr. Singer and his kind — too bad it wasn't the hot-foot instead — which might start them thinking for themselves of the consequences of their words and actions.

B. D. DRAPER, ex-Sgt., R.C.A.F.,
Stittsville, Ont.

The Editor:

It is to be hoped that Prof. Northrop Frye's articles under the title "A Liberal Education" will open the way to a lively discussion in your pages in months to come. One thing Canadian socialists have neglected to do in their preoccupation with economic and political problems, has been to form a comprehensive philosophy of education. This fact seems all the more strange in view of the fact that so many supporters of socialism come from the ranks of the teaching profession.

There are parts of Prof. Frye's article in the September issue where I find his argument difficult to follow. It appears axiomatic that there can be no concrete philosophy of education apart from a clearly defined ideal type of man that the educational program is designed to produce. Prof. Frye's ideal is apparently something he is pleased to call a gentleman, but it is inadequate, I think, first, in view of its definition as "a citizen who has an intelligent idea of how to occupy his leisure time," and also because of the contrast he draws between a ditch-digger and a college graduate. It is true that an old-fashioned liberalism could and did associate the idea of a gentleman with that of a "gentleman's education," but that concept itself implies a certain exclusiveness which can have no place in a truly socialistic society. Surely the modern idea of a gentleman has little to do with a man's formal education, but is rather an ethical concept derived from his personal and social environment. Nor can it be confined to a consideration of how he uses his leisure time. Ideally, at least, a gentleman must behave as such in all his activities or he is no gentleman at all. Given the requisite personal and social background, it is conceivable that a ditch-digger with hardly any formal education could attain to just as high standards in this respect as a college graduate.

Today I see no reason why a quarrel should arise over the respective claims of the sciences and the humanities. Just as the humanities are adopting more and more the methods of science, so the sciences are becoming ever more sceptical about the absolutely impersonal nature of the conclusions they reach. There is, after all, only one way of arriving at dependable knowledge; that is, by the patient observation of phenomena, and by comparison of the subsequent analyses (or interpretations) with those made by other reliable observers. The study of literature or history today is scarcely less analytical than the study of chemistry. By the same token the brilliant synthesis of a theory of matter, which is science, is just as much the personal achievement of a superior mind, as is the synthesis of a word-picture of life, which is literature. The chief remaining difference between the two categories are that the humanities have not the advantage of being able to make their observations in laboratories under controlled conditions, and that they are obliged to communicate their findings through the flexible medium of language rather than through the rigid one of mathematics; for these

reasons reliable conclusions are more difficult to arrive at in the humanities than in the sciences, but they are no less imperative.

I am heartily in favor of exposing all sham progressivism of the type to which Prof. Frye refers. We have had a good deal of it in our schools in the past ten or fifteen years, and not only in relation to the sciences and vocational subjects. Elsewhere it seems bent on introducing the student to as much "useless" knowledge as possible in as short a time as possible, and as painlessly and superficially as possible. It tends to produce lazy and undisciplined minds backed by dangerously unstable emotional responses. It is impossible to assess the damage that may have been done already by these slipshod methods, and nowhere are the problems facing the socialist more urgent than in the field of education.

The educational aims of a democratic, socialist society must be twofold — to produce co-operative and democratic men. Formal education can do little about the first part of the objective. People will learn to be co-operative only when co-operation is made to pay. It is therefore an ethical concept conditional to the establishment of the right sort of economic and social climate for fostering its growth. The second objective, however, is the direct responsibility of the school, and depends on the kind, the amount, and the degree of reliability, of the knowledge which is there disseminated. No man can assume a responsible position in a truly democratic society, unless he is capable of sound, independent critical thinking over a wide range of subjects. The school should therefore concentrate on placing in his hands the necessary tools for thinking, and training him to use them with the highest degree of skill which he is capable of attaining. These are, of course, minimum general objectives. In addition an adequate socialist educational program will need to offer a wide variety of vocational and cultural courses. On the nature, extent and purposes of these there is room for a great deal of discussion.

I am looking forward with keen interest to the further development of Prof. Frye's theme in Part II of his article.

D. A. SINCLAIR,
Internment Camp,
Seebe, Alta.

The Editor:

Montgomery, the man who led the British armies to victory from El Alamein to Berlin ill deserves the slur you cast on him in your editorial "His Excellency."

Alexander will make a good Governor-General. Montgomery would have been equally satisfactory. What "native Canadian" would be as acceptable in this country as either of these distinguished warriors? It would be interesting to know your nominee. . . .

J. C. SMITH,
Toronto, Ont.



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Light Metals Come of Age

Ross L. Holman

► NOW THAT THE WAR IS OVER we have a tremendously expanded light metals industry all dressed up and waiting for some place to go. Production capacity of aluminum will be seven times prewar and since this vast increase has largely been devoted to war needs somebody will have to dream up a whale of a lot of peacetime uses. Otherwise billions of dollars worth of manufacturing facilities will have to be scrapped.

The United States has a two-billion-pounds-a-year aluminum capacity and Canada has 400 million. Before the bombs started falling our output was about 350 million. Before the war magnesium was a word most of us had to look up in the dictionary. We were producing on this continent about 5,000,000 pounds a year. After Pearl Harbor the output catapulted 100 times to 500,000,000. Practically all this increase in aluminum and magnesium has been used in warplanes and other materials to teach foreign aggressors how to behave. The output of stainless steel, the other major light metal, has also skyrocketed.

But engineers and scientists now believe they know all the answers to the surplus light metal problem the war's end has dumped into our laps. They plan to put on the market every conceivable kind of aluminum product from bureaus to bungalows. If their dreams come true you will ride in aluminum, live in it, wear it, float in it, wash your dishes, finish your walls and doctor your lungs with it. You can ditto many of these uses with magnesium and stainless steel and then add some more to them that aluminum can't fill.

Not long after the United States Government ordered a few cutbacks in aluminum output, 30 all-aluminum box cars went into railroad use. Before the war we were already using the three light metals in an increasing amount in passenger trains. Since freight rolling stock is also being streamlined with featherweight light metals we've begun to see visions and dream dreams of an all-out lightweight transportation system that will glide along with the greatest of ease. It will include ships, planes, automobiles and trains.

In fact, these metals have already proven their value so completely in railroad use, engineers in this field are confident that economic necessity will eventually compel a 100 percent manufacture of all rolling stock from light metals. For example, the 30 aluminum refrigerator cars manufactured by the Reynolds Metal Co. take 18,000 pounds of deadweight off each car. When you squeeze that much ponderosity out of a piece of rolling stock it means it can carry that much more payload.

Another thing that will make economy-minded railroad interests look longingly at the light metals is the record shown by rolling stock already in use. For example, the Edward G. Budd Company of Philadelphia has put into operation hundreds of stainless steel trains. Operating figures on many of these showed that they paid for themselves, lock, stock and barrel in one year in fuel saving and maintenance costs. Does all this mean that all railroad replacement of rolling stock will be of light metal? It sounds promising, and if it works out that way the rails will bite some big hunks out of our increased light metal capacity.

But even outside of railroads the field of transportation is a whopper. Take automobiles. A few years before the war the Aluminum Company of America trotted out an all-aluminum auto including a complete aluminum body. No

question about it, it was a dream on wheels. And it would perform like nobody's business. It looked like a car the prospective buyer would mortgage his gold teeth to own. But somehow the aluminum company couldn't sell auto manufacturers on it. Not that it showed many defects. It simply looked too good to be true. It was such a radical departure from what the consumer was used to the auto magnates shied away from it.

The aluminum company laid the idea on the shelf for awhile but with the seven-fold increase of aluminum capacity that Armistice day has dumped into its lap it may trot it out again. However, don't get the idea you are going to present your wife with an all-aluminum joy wagon on her birthday. The promoters will probably offer the all-aluminum idea to the car manufacturers in broken doses. If they can get them to manufacture from this metal all such parts as doors, crank cases, blocks, cylinder heads, etc., it means that five million new cars a year (1941 output) will consume all the United States' two billion pounds a year plus Canada's 400 million. If the car body ever becomes all-aluminum the manufacturer will embed in it by electrolytic process any color scheme that dazzles your eye. It will never fade or grow old.

But, getting farther into the field of transportation, Henry Kaiser, the shipbuilding wizard, not long ago gave his views on things to come. According to Fulton Lewis, Blue Network news commentator, Kaiser predicted aluminum ocean liners, aluminum destroyers and other fighting ships. He said road trucks would be made out of magnesium. Lewis also quoted one of the most important shipline operators in the United States as saying that after studying the matter closely, he found it was not only practical from a cost standpoint to operate aluminum ocean-going vessels for his South American trade after the war, but he couldn't afford to compete for post-war trade without them. He said they would save several times the original cost in operation.

Aviation, the remaining mode of transportation, was, as we know, built on light metals. About 75 percent of a plane's weight is aluminum and, in addition, an average of 1,000 pounds of magnesium goes into the same plane. The Budd Company recently came out with the first stainless steel plane called the Conestoga. Stainless steel is 74 percent chromium and 26 percent nickel. It is three times as heavy as aluminum, but only one-third as much of it by weight is needed in fabricating products.

What will make the Budd stainless steel cargo plane such a hot competitor of the others is that it is made without rivets. The parts are welded together and not riveted. That saves a tremendous amount of labor in fabrication. For example, it took 3,000,000 rivets to put the Martin cargo plane Mars together.

Not only in transportation are the light metal engineers planning new uses, but they are looking wistfully at the billion or so new homes the United States and Canada hope to build each year after the war. Aluminum shingles will deflect heat from a house and make it much cooler in the summer. You can finish your walls with thin sheet aluminum in any color scheme you desire and make your bedroom a thing of beauty and a joy forever. Window frames and facings made of this metal will make the windows easy to operate. Some authorities predict that many entire houses from roof to basement will be built of aluminum.

Not only that but many home interiors will be furnished with light metal furniture with featherweight maneuverability. It will include aluminum and magnesium dressers, chiffonettes, chairs, beds and what have you. When Mrs. Sally Housewife does her spring cleaning she can shove the bureau and tables around with the greatest of ease. Magnesium

and aluminum will be used in vacuum cleaners, refrigerators, sewing machines, lawn mowers, baby carriages and many other articles that play a big part in your way of life.

It now looks as though aluminum might become a formidable competitor in the textile field. It can be made into wool and they say fabrics made from it are unbelievably cheap. A few people are now wearing aluminum jackets, capes, hats, shoes and bathing in aluminum bathing suits. If it lives up to its prospects in the processing of yarn and cloth it will be one of the best answers yet to the textile man's prayer.

So many unexpected uses for light metals have become possible that some predictions for them seem fantastic. But even at that, the most optimistic wishful hoppers in this field a few years ago wouldn't have risked going out on a limb by predicting that aluminum would ever be used as a medicine. But it has been found one of the most effective remedies for silicosis. Silicosis is caused by dust breathed into the lungs by people in dust-laden atmosphere. For combatting this trouble aluminum is pulverized and the powder is inhaled. Over 12,000 men in 80 mines and mills in the United States and Canada are being treated by this method. The inhalation of aluminum dust into the lungs counteracts the effects of other dust. This method and course of treatment was worked out by a clinic established at Schumacher, Ontario, for the McIntyre-Porcupine Mines, Ltd.

As most of us know, all our aluminum has been manufactured from bauxite shipped from British and Dutch Guiana, and more recently some from Arkansas. What mighty few people know, however, is that one-eighth of the entire earth's surface is composed of this metal. Practically every farm, front-yard and calf lot is an aluminum mine. The problem of science has never been where to discover this metal but how to shake it loose from the elements with which nature has blended it. So far, bauxite has been the most workable substance from which to extract it.

Recently, however, engineers of the Tennessee Valley Authority developed an economic method of extracting aluminum from clay which is smeared all over the North American landscape. If the process works out as they anticipate, the results may be incalculable.

Until the war started most of what little magnesium we used was taken from Michigan salt wells and some earth mines. Dow Chemical Company was the sole manufacturer. Science long ago discovered, however, that sea water has an abundance of this metal. When war demands for it multiplied, a huge sea water plant was constructed on the Gulf of Mexico and over one-half our vastly increased output is taken from Davy Jones' locker. The sea is an inexhaustible mine. There are nearly 6,000,000 tons of magnesium in every cubic mile and there are 325,000,000 cubic miles on which to draw. At the peak war rate of consumption it would take 26 years to use up the first cubic mile.

Magnesium is one-third lighter by weight than aluminum, which will make it a serious competitor in numerous articles where light weight is an advantage. Anything built of metal can be made with magnesium unless unusual strength is needed.

While practically all the uses mentioned are proven possibilities and many of them are already in the commercial stage, it will require several years for them to pass through the evolutionary process of industrial development into general consumer acceptance. But we are definitely entering a light metal age and it will influence our way of life in many channels.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

THEY ARE RETURNING: E. J. Pratt; Macmillan; pp. 15; 50c.

Whether the poetry of battle is best composed by the participants or by the spectators is an unresolved and perhaps fruitless question. But there is a difference between the *Iliad* or *Beowulf* with their suggestion of the nearness of the enemy and the pressure of the struggle and, on the other hand, the epic combats of Milton or Spenser, a little removed and more clearly from a spectator's view. During the past few years, at least from the Spanish civil war on, the advantage has lain with the combatant poet; the citizen army brings into its ranks numbers of individuals of that peculiarly modern temperament which enables its possessor to act and endure while at the same moment observing and recording not only the externals of the situation but also its effects upon his own nervous system. (Malraux and St. Exupéry show the same capacity in their prose.) The new techniques of warfare and the new experiences which they impose on those who employ them have the effect of further weighting the scales in favor of the combatant poet.

It follows that the poet writing of the war of 1939-1945 at a distance from Europe and Asia is handicapped in a way that Addison and Tennyson were not; it is almost inevitable that in techniques, sensibility, use of images and choice of controlling symbols he will be somewhat behind the more fortunate writers who are first-hand participants in and recipients of the experience. (I am not arguing that poetry is in a continual progression from less adequate to more adequate forms of expression; only that particular bodies of experience and their corresponding poetic situations acquire their own appropriate idiom and imagery—communist poetry of the 1920's and 30's being a case in point.) It is this handicap which makes Dr. Pratt's *Dunkirk* a tour de force, though indeed a fine and effective one, timely and in the best sense occasional. The question, then, which every lover of poetry and practitioner of verse will ask as he opens the pages of Dr. Pratt's latest poem, *They Are Returning*, is how has its author reconciled the large view, the wide perspective, with immediacy of treatment or convincing detail?

The answer is instructive for all who read or write poetry in this country of ours which is geographically somewhat off the main foci of world affairs and likely (we hope) to remain so. Dr. Pratt has brought to his subject, the return of Canadians from the services to civil life, a youthful eagerness and a feeling for heroic action which have not lost a hairsbreadth of their keen edge since the days when he put forth *The Roosevelt and the Antinoe*. His practice in the handling of epic incidents, his joy in panoramic enumeration, stand him in good stead and, as usual, he is at his best when the sea breaks into verse and we see

... the stokers in the holds for whom no bells
Tolled when they left their unberibboned toil
Only to try their chances on a raft,
Or plunge beneath the tanker's blazing oil.

The action, endurance and sufferings of the struggle just ended are the staple of the poem, if not precisely its theme, and the whole movement is lifted and controlled by an epic feeling for the basic human situation and the vigilance and courage needed to cope with it. Without having to employ detailed visual or psychological realism, the author can give voice to a national emotion:

We dare in this last phase of the eclipse
To place the morning trumpet to our lips.

This recognition of approaching life, in the midst of death and danger, gives the poem its buoyancy and sweep. The war and the achieved peace are for the writer weighty and digested experiences. And the future is full of hope:

And from those tonic syllables,
Dieppe, Authie, Falaise, and Carpiquet,
Kleve, Emmerich, Antwerp and Groningen,
They shall learn how to wind
Their souls into the reeds and strings
To reach their own *Eroicas*, and find
The *Chorals*, *Passions*, *Pathétiques*,
To hymn their Ilian voyagings.

They Are Returning is one more proof that poetic imagination can, at will, dispense with the materials of detailed realism.

Roy Daniells.

SOUTH AMERICA UNCENSORED: Roland Hall Sharp;
Longmans, Green & Co.; pp. 363; \$4.50.

Brazilian secret police signed an agreement to track down the communists with the Gestapo before the war, according to reports found among the files of Heinrich Heidrich, the late Hangman of Europe. Yet Brazil is our ally. She has maintained an expeditionary force overseas, and her workers have turned out the high grade iron ores, bauxite, rock quartz crystal, tantalite rubber and diamonds so essential to United Nations' war production.

The secret police of Spain and Portugal were also signatories of these agreements. Undoubtedly the colonels now ruling Argentina were inspired by Franco's successful "crusade against bolshevism and the Masonic Orders." They were encouraged by the hierarchy of the Catholic Church, and today all Argentine teachers and textbooks have to be approved by this hierarchy. Gradually, the United Nations are bringing their combined diplomatic pressure to bear against Argentina because of her non-cooperative attitude during the war. But could the colonels of Buenos Aires have remained in power this long without the tacit approval of Brazil, Paraguay, and Bolivia, all three of whom were being armed by Washington, regardless of their fascist policies at home and in South America, simply because they had declared war on the Axis? These are the questions Roland Hall Sharp asks in his book *South America Uncensored*. He has had several brushes with the secret police in Brazil and Argentina. His account of his years in South America as correspondent for the *Christian Science Monitor* make interesting reading.

"Portrait of a Continent" and "In Search of Frontiers," the last two parts of his book, describe the almost insuperable barriers nature has put in the way of civilization in South America. Imagine the Andes stretching through the United States, instead of roughly the same distance down the west coast of South America. "Railways would have to climb through passes from 12,000 to 15,000 feet high" between

Canada and Mexico. The Andean slope to the Pacific is so steep that if even all the extraordinarily swift rivers were controlled there would not be enough water to irrigate it.

The Humboldt current washes the continental Pacific coast from the Antarctic to tropical Peru. The moisture rising from it is so cold that it freezes as it crosses the mountain tops, leaves their eastern slopes dry and floods the western slope with torrential rain. Rich fertile soils are washed out to the Atlantic from the Amazon basin. On the western slope, in the Amazon basin, cultivation as practised in North America, is impossible. At Fordlandia, Henry Ford's rubber plantation, clearings were made to allow the air and sun to get at the saplings. The wind only brought disease spores to their leaves, although wild rubber trees grew up healthily in the uncut jungle.

Mr. Sharp describes the contrast between the wealthy and the working classes — the Indian emperor, the Spanish conquistador, the modern capitalist and the worker, usually Indian. An example is Patiño, tin king of the world who lives at the Ritz-Carlton in Montreal, and owns three palaces in Bolivia, although many of the Indians working in his mines in that country earn 13 cents a day and their mouthful of coca leaves (cocaine).

Since the book was written Brazil has removed the ban of illegality from the communist party and elections have been proclaimed for December 2. Elections have also been promised in Argentina. However, the most interesting part of the book, because it deals with a subject neglected by the whirlwind reporter, is that pointing out the almost insuperable problems of transport, climate, infertile soil, and dwindling mineral wealth, which give rise to nationalistic governments, class warfare and the almost complete lack of a bourgeoisie.

Josephine Hambleton.

TWENTY BEST FILM PLAYS: John Gassner and Dudley Nichols; Ambassador Books (Crown Publishers); pp. 1112; \$3.95.

This collection of screen plays from movies is designed, according to its editors, to demonstrate that the screenplay is about ready to take its place in literature as a new genre in writing, comparable to poetry, the novel or the drama. Fifteen of the plays are adaptations from novels, three from plays originally intended for the legitimate stage, and one direct from an idea in the mind of Dudley Nichols, the co-editor.

The screenplay is in reality very little more than a blueprint for a finished movie, and it is certainly a question whether a stenographic sketch of this kind can be regarded as a creation in itself, to be read on its own merits. In the case of the present volume the reader will be chiefly interested in observing how fairly the screenplay represents the original work from which it was taken (*Wuthering Heights*, *The Grapes of Wrath*, *How Green Was My Valley*) and perhaps in deciding how far the demands of cinema writing impose restrictions on the screen writer. It is easiest to trace the changes where an original play forms the basis for a movie (as in *Yellow Jack*); generally speaking the movie dialogue is shorter, more conversational than the original screen dialogue. You may also get the impression that a movie cannot carry as much intellectual content as a stage play; which is not necessarily true. It is always necessary to bear in mind that the better a movie is, the more of its ideas are presented in terms of physical action, facial expression, music, and camera closeups. Conversely, the stagier the written dialogue, the more wooden the final production is likely to be.

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Where adaptations are concerned, the claim for separate recognition is hardly justified; in each case the adaptation reads like a précis of the original work, and not infrequently it is the original banalities which are preserved in transcription and the subtleties left out. John Gassner discusses the case of *The Informer* at some length in this connection. Liam O'Flaherty wrote the original novel; Dudley Nichols and John Ford wrote the adaptation for screen and directed the making of the film. When the present editors wished to include the screenplay in their volume, however, they found that O'Flaherty still had the copyright to his novel, and that he was, to say the least, disinclined to see the screenplay published. Gassner draws the conclusion that once a story is sold it should by law be the property of the buyer, subject to revision or republication at will. Authors on the other hand may be inclined to think that the moral is: never sell a copyright for screen play production. This may, as Gassner says, reduce the screen writer to ordinary hack standing; but it would also encourage that same screen writer, thirsting for recognition as a creative artist, to invent his own theme and plot.

A subsequent volume appeared last year containing ten screenplays from the movies produced in 1943-44. Of these nearly half were original screenplays, and in the cast of two, the picture was not only written but directed by the same person—Preston Sturges. The improvement at least in readability was marked; and in point of fact, the movies themselves were better. If the screenplay is ever to be regarded as an art form in itself, the original screenplay will have to achieve it; for in spite of what Mr. Gassner has to say about Shakespeare and Saxo Grammaticus, the adaptations which we have seen so far have been almost completely derivative.

D. H. M.

RIOTS AND RUINS: A. Clayton Powell, Sr.; Longmans, Green & Co.; pp. 171; \$2.50.

RACE RIOTS AREN'T NECESSARY: Alfred McClung Lee; Public Affairs (Pamphlet No. 107); pp. 31; 15c.

For those interested in making democracy work the pamphlet by Lee is of far greater use than Mr. Powell's book. The book itself which purports to deal with the causes of race riots is little more than a hodge-podge of generalities and quotations from newspapers on the rising racial tensions in the United States. Mr. Powell refuses to see in these tensions and disturbances the spirit of Fascism at work. He prefers to think of race riots as clashes between hoodlums and gangs of terrible people, and himself as a nice Christian gentleman who though outraged by it all does not know what to do with the "dangerous element" except to build better community centres complete with ping pong tables. He appears more concerned with his own personal inconvenience while travelling through the segregated sections of the States than in working for social change which would remove the causes of discrimination and racial conflict. His views are sometimes alarmingly similar to those of the prejudiced white people and he relies on the cultivation of the goodwill of the "best white people" as a solution to the problem.

Alfred Lee, on the other hand, in a clear concise pamphlet which every citizen should read, analyzes the deep, underlying cause of riots and the factors that are involved in any racial outbreak — the frictions and disturbances themselves being symptomatic of the insecurity and fear produced by the inequalities of our system. To strengthen our democ-

cracy we must get rid of the "areas of discontent" which abound in every city. These "areas of discontent" are combustibles which a minor incident may fan into a riot resulting in tremendous loss of life, a heightened dread and mistrust, and an intensification of hatred between groups resulting eventually in undermining democracy as a symbol of hope and of human worth. The areas are found in racial rumors, demagogic groups, the tendency of police to handle members of minority groups, overcrowding and slum conditions, juvenile delinquency and unemployment. Lee suggests a constructive long-term program of planning as well as an emergency program for immediate action, as carefully planned as were our air-raid precautions, and enlisting all trade and service clubs, veterans' organizations, all youth and education agencies, radio, and newspapers.

We should have been preparing all along for the serious dislocations and misunderstandings that will arise in this post-war period. There is still time, if we care enough, to uproot the evils that make possible another war.

M. W.

THE BRIDGE: Stanley Burnshaw (introduction by John Gassner); The Dryden Press; pp. 126; \$2.25 (U.S.A.)

This is a play in three acts with the present destiny of mankind as its theme. It is impressive, even to read, and sympathetically interpreted on the stage would be memorable as poetic drama. The dramatis personae is made up of type-characters who, like the characters in Maxwell Anderson's *Winterset*, stand for the different sides of man as an indivi-

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dual, as well as for the individual as distinguished from the group.

All the characters are intent upon building a way to the future. Conflict arises over how this way is to be built, to what extent it shall be guided by any one of them. There is a struggle between capital and labor, between the dreaming visionary and the utilitarian and between the needs of the individual and those of the mass. Success is achieved only when there is a recognition by each of the value of the needs of the others. So there must be integration of the varied tendencies of the individual and an adjustment of the individual to the needs of the group to which he belongs. Above all there must be a recognition of man's spiritual self.

"If men lived only by the things they knew

The skin of their hands could touch, they soon would die
Of starved need. The arid, juiceless real

Bristles with harshness. Eyeballs would cut on the edges
Of naked fact and bleed. The thoughtful vision

Projected by our driving hope creates

A world where life is possible; without it

The brain of man would break and die."

The average playgoer, accustomed to human idiosyncrasy as a chief source of entertainment, is apt to find the generalizing of the poetic drama wearisome; but recent history, such as the release of atomic energy, focuses special attention upon the psychological situation of humanity portrayed in *The Bridge*. Can man integrate his practical and spiritual natures? He must if he is not to perish miserably.

There is, however, something skeletal about this play. Its tone is stripped and hard and there is oversimplification in its allegorical content. The characters are often so recognizable they tend to caricature. The capitalist is too unfailingly sly and obnoxious; the laborer always blamelessly industrious and the visionary irritating in his indifference to reality. There is, too, an atmosphere of tension, persisting even throughout the happy ending, which appears in origin to be puritanical. The need for the visionary is admitted but implicit also is a fear of a final spiritual merge. Occasionally a lofty prophetic utterance has about it an uneasy wordiness that is in the nature of camouflage, giving lustre to the character but obscuring the subject matter and reflecting, perhaps, the author's anticipation of his extra-versive American audience.

"Many of our poets," writes John Gassner in his introduction, "now realize that the printed page keeps them insulated in a nutshell, and those of them who do not consider it degrading to be communicable have been trying to reach out beyond the covers of a book." Mr. Burnshaw has produced a brilliant work which, whatever its defects as either drama or literature, will help to widen the boundaries of present-day poetry.

Alan Creighton.

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WHAT ABOUT THE JEWS?: Norman Fergus Black; Canadian Association of Adult Education; pp. 56; 10c.

THE LEGAL STATUS OF STATELESS PERSONS: Marc Vishniak; American Jewish Committee; pp. 70; 20c.

It is encouraging that *What About the Jews?* has already gone into its third printing. This little book is a carefully compiled analysis of the history and causes of anti-semitism, written with the purpose of condensing "into an article short enough to be read at a single sitting a sufficient array of relevant and thoroughly documented facts to justify a verdict that may lead to important results."

Dr. Black outlines the signs of increasing anti-semitism in North America, raises and answers the traditional arguments against the Jews, reveals the falsity of the generally-accepted reasons for anti-semitism, describes the means by which Russia was able to eliminate race prejudices, and reaches the conclusion that "Anti-Semitism is the rationalization of hatred of the hateful things in the social and economic system."

While the style of the pamphlet is a little too scholarly to reach many people who are themselves afflicted with anti-semitism, it provides a convenient arsenal of arguments for those who seek to combat it.

The Legal Status of Stateless Persons raises one of the most tragic questions which will face the Economic and Social Council when it begins its deliberations. Statelessness is a modern evil: it hardly existed before 1914. Following World War I thousands of unfortunates found themselves without nationality and consequently without civil rights. Under the leadership of Dr. Nansen the League of Nations sought to mitigate their lot by issuing identity cards known as Nansen Passports and by attempting to establish international conventions defining their position in society.

The rise of Nazism and the turmoil of war have multiplied the number of people who have no country. In 1944 a conservative estimate placed the total between one and two million. Dr. Vishniak has written a detailed account of the history and causes of statelessness, and has described the various attempts which have been made to alleviate it. While offering no simple solution, he sets forth a number of measures which are necessary to mitigate, eliminate, or prevent the harmful consequences of statelessness.

E. Fowke.

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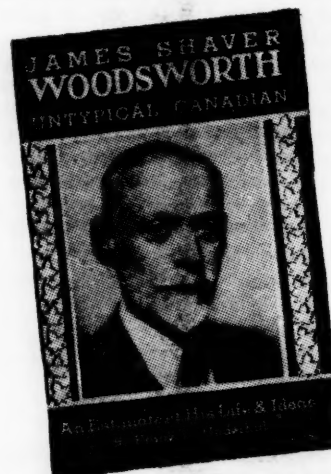
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